
BACHELORARBEIT

Herr
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**Warrior or Exotic Beauty.
Maori images in New Zealand
film history.**

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Abstract

This paper explores the origins of Maori images in New Zealand film history. Discussing the history of Maori and their society brings us closer to a, once almost extinct, race and its struggle for self-representation and self-governance. By taking an in-depth look at New Zealand's film history we get to understand how Maori were the subject of the earliest films and at what time they started making their own films. Combining those elements gives us the opportunity to understand how early images of Maori were created by Pakeha directors. By looking at different films throughout film history shows how Maori images evolved in time, especially when Maori started depicting themselves. This paper not only answers questions about Maori images in film but also tries to make people realise what odds Maori had to overcome in their daily struggle for self-determination.

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1 Introduction

New Zealand, a country celebrated for their nature and their native people. Its very short history, involving European settlers, spans only about 250 years. New Zealand has a population smaller than most big cities in the western world. With its remote location in the middle of the Pacific Ocean, next to Australia, it has been quiet isolated from the rest of the world for some time. In recent years however, it gained much more attention and becoming a well known destination for tourist from all over the world, mostly because of its famous landscapes seen and used in allot of films in recent years.

When you talk about New Zealand you have to talk about the native people, the Maori. Living alone in New Zealand for centuries before it became known to the western world, Maori are an important part of todays society. Looking at other native people, such as the native Indians in America or the Aborigines in Australia you have to ask how Maori have been treated throughout history, and furthermore how were the depict in films. This paper will take an in depth look at the images of Maori in New Zealand film and look at why these images were chosen.

To answer those question, we have to understand Maori society and their struggle since the colonisation of New Zealand by the British Crown. Maori struggle for authority and self-determination throughout the 19th and 20th century will be looked at to understand how Europeans were taking away Maori identity to create their own Maori identities on film.

After that an overlook of New Zealand feature film history will be given to understand what opportunities film makers had and why Maori started so late making their own films. This overlook will show at what time Maori were first depicted on film and why. It will show when Maori started to be creatively taking part in film-making. Bringing it into context with Maori history will make clear what struggle Maori had to get involved with film other than being filmed by others.

In the main part of this paper, the images used to depict Maori will be looked at. How did they change over the years. How did they change when Maori started making their own films and how did these images influence New Zealand society to think of the Maori.

After examples for each image has been given, a survey will be evaluated that was conducted in New Zealand. The participants answered questions about Maori images in their homeland cinema. Evaluating this survey will proof which images are still in the heads of New Zealand people.

In the end this paper will show how images of the Maori has changed throughout New Zealand feature film history given the historically background of the Maori. It will help understand Maori better outside of the images shown to the world by feature films.

2 Introduction to Maori society

Before we can look at either the Maori history in New Zealand or the New Zealand film history we have to understand the Maori society, their values, their rules, their life. Knowing how Maori used to live before Europeans came over is vital to understand why they felt cheated after the Treaty of Waitangi or why, up until today, they protest against New Zealand government. Regarding the New Zealand film history it is essential to understand the images chosen to portrait Maori.

Maori have different religious beliefs, common of natives of the pacific, that are the foundation of their lives. Instead of one god, the Maori have 70 gods they worship. Ancestors are holy and live in a mystic land of ancestors called Hawaiki.¹

The social organisation of Maori is very different to cultures at the same time in the rest of the world. Every Maori was part of an iwi (tribe). Normally though the whole tribe didn't live together but in smaller hapus (sub-tribes) that were connected through the same ancestor. This hapu was made up of different whanaus (large family groups).²

To establish a social order the Maori used the idea of mana (spiritual essence). In Maori belief every person, objects made by person and nature all had mana. The amount of mana was determined by once actions. For example a master carver who carves a house successfully would increase his mana, but if he fails to carve this house, his mana would decrease. The amount of someones mana determines his stand in society. Maori chiefs usually have allot of mana. Mana was able to be inherited from the parents. For Maori mana was the fuel of life.³ Mana was not only connected to a person alone. A tribe without mana was not able to win battles with other tribes, crops would not grow which would lead to starvation. Without mana a tribe was doomed.⁴

1 vgl. "Die Maori in Neuseeland", David Krzysanowski, Grin-Verlag, 2004, page 4

2 vgl. "Maori of New Zealand – Classic Maori Society", author unknown, http://www.maori.info/maori_society.htm 27.09.2011 , 17:33

3 vgl. "Die Maori in Neuseeland", David Krzysanowski, Grin-Verlag, 2004, page 5

4 vgl. "Maori of New Zealand – Classic Maori Society", author unknown, http://www.maori.info/maori_society.htm 27.09.2011 , 17:33

Another key element in Maori life is the concept of tapu. It can be translated as sacred. A person or land that is tapu is not allowed to be touched by anyone until a special tohunga (specialist in their field, e.g. specialist carver) lifts the tapu. Since tapu was a force from the gods, it was not to be broken and if done so misfortune and even death would fall upon the person that broke it. The idea of tapu lives on until today when land is forbidden to be entered and sacred burial grounds are still under tapu.⁵

One of the most important, if not the most important, aspect of Maori life, is their connection to the land and nature as whole. They "have strong spiritual bonds to the land, Papatuanuku, the Earth Mother"⁶. She gives Maori identity which is the reason Maori treat the land as taonga (treasures) and see themselves as kaitiaki (guardian) of the land. The live of the land and protect and enhance it.⁷ In Maori belief every person represents certain things in nature such as mountains, lakes or trees. In reverse every mountain, lake or tree has a soul. This connection to the land was important above all in Maori society. It is one of the key reasons for protests and concerns of Maori in the 20th century which will be looked at more closely in a later chapter.⁸

The Maori villages were quite unique to other cultures. Every house had a different purpose and was only used for that purpose. There were meeting houses (wharenui), guest houses (wharepuni) or houses of learning (whare wananga) much like a school today. But the most important place of a village was the marae (meeting area in front of the meeting house). The marae was the place where everything happened. Maori gathered here to discuss tribal matters, mourn after a funeral, celebrate or welcoming guests. The marae as such was more important than the meeting house itself. Every occasion had their own special rituals to undergo.⁹

Since war and the idea of utu (revenge) is a key aspect of Maori life, Maori started to build fortified villages (pa) to defend their hapu against enemies. Those pa were built at strategic places, e.g. at the top of a hill or where the sea formed a natural barrier. This made it easier to defend the pa.

5 vgl. "Maori of New Zealand – Classic Maori Society", author unknown, http://www.maori.info/maori_society.htm 27.09.2011, 17:33

6 "Maori and the land", author unknown, <http://www.waikatoregion.govt.nz/Environmental-information/Land-and-soil/Maori-and-the-land/>, 6.10.2011, 15:27

7 vgl. "Maori and the land", author unknown, <http://www.waikatoregion.govt.nz/Environmental-information/Land-and-soil/Maori-and-the-land/>, 6.10.2011, 15:27

8 vgl. "Die Maori in Neuseeland", David Krzysanowski, Grin-Verlag, 2004, page 5

9 vgl. "Maori of New Zealand – Classic Maori Society", author unknown, http://www.maori.info/maori_society.htm 27.09.2011, 17:33

The idea of utu (revenge) was deep-rooted in Maori society. One of the reasons for war between tribes was natural resources. Even though all Maori saw the land as sacred, land alienation was only achieved by conquest. That's when pa were erected to defend the land. The other reason for most battles between Maori tribes was the mana. Even a thoughtless comment could decrease someones mana and have war as consequence. Only after a victory the mana would be restored. In that way battles and utu would go back and forth until one day one tribe would be perished. This back and forth could go on for years.¹⁰ "Occasionally a hapu were forced by circumstance to wait generations before they were in a position to exact retribution"¹¹ Maori lived in a society dictated by war and utu. It was normal for utu to be executed while having the enemy over for a feast. Everything was fair and the victim had it coming. This lead to a major decrease in Maori population.¹²

When we are looking further into the history of Maori from Cooks arrival in New Zealand to the present day we have to consider the Maori's society and the way they used to live. Maori are very spiritual and see the gods in everything. Their connection to the land is so unique that it was in a total clash to European use of land and they way they treated it. The idea of mana made the Maori a proud and fearless society that didn't fear death as much as the loose of their mana and therefore their respect and reputation. Considering this, it is not surprising that sooner or later when the European arrived those two very different cultures would clash with only one culture to be the superior.

10 vgl. "Maori und Gesellschaft", Hartmut Jäcksch, Mana-Verlag, 2007, pages 15-17

11 "Maori of New Zealand – Classic Maori Society", author unknown, http://www.maori.info/maori_society.htm
27.09.2011 , 17:33

12 vgl. "Maori of New Zealand – Classic Maori Society", author unknown, http://www.maori.info/maori_society.htm
27.09.2011 , 17:33

3 Maori-history in New Zealand

We know that Maori have had a very different, primitive, culture compared to European countries in the 18th century. Without knowing that there was a whole world outside of New Zealand, it was only a matter of time until it was discovered and Maori would have to deal with European nations discovering New Zealand and eventually seize it. This chapter will discuss the most important events from the discovery of New Zealand, the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, the land protests in the 1970s up until recent Maori events. It's not the history of New Zealand but especially the history of Maori dealing with inequality, struggle to keep their land and loosing their identity in New Zealand society.

Maori migrated to New Zealand 500-900 years ago with the highpoint of migration being 1350 A.D. Since Maori were excellent fisher and carvers they were able to navigate their wakas (canoes) and pahis (large ship) from the South Pacific to New Zealand. It was a planned migration which can be seen as they were plants and crobs on the pahis. This indicates that Maori organised a big migration to New Zealand and were planning on staying and starting over. Even though the Maori weren't the first native people of New Zealand, they are the last and oldest people to live in New Zealand. The first contact with Europeans was not, as often read, with James Cook but in 1642 with Dutch discoverer Abel Janzoon Tasman. Unfortunately some of his men were attacked by local Maori and 22 of his men died. Tasman left New Zealand afterwards without ever putting his foot on New Zealand. Back home he declared New Zealand was not a country to be colonised. It took another 127 years for the first European to step on New Zealand soil.¹³

13 vgl. "Die Maori in Neuseeland", David Krzysanowski, Grin-Verlag, 2004, page 9-10

3.1 James Cook and the Clash of Cultures

On October 8th, 1769¹⁴ James Cook and his crew of the HMS Endeavour laid anchor close to, what is now called, Poverty Bay on the east coast of New Zealand's north island. It was the first European to lay foot in New Zealand.

The first meeting between Cook's crew and Maori ended with the death of a couple of Maori since no side could speak each other languages nor did they understand each other cultures. Cook sailed around New Zealand to draw maps and get to know the Maori culture. After those two voyages around the country, Cook declared the Maori to be intelligent and vicious.¹⁵

Maori were confronted with new technology and a whole different lifestyle. Simple tools such as nails became an important good to trade. The introduction of the potato changed Maori life since the potato didn't need as much care as the kumara (sweet potato) which Maori used to grow as their main food. They were eager to learn new things and to help the British. Maori were offering their help for working on wood constructions or to whale catchers from France, the UK or the USA. Because of their background in fishing and their experience around New Zealand sea they were welcomed on their ships. It looked like the two cultures would benefit each other. But this clash of cultures had some significant disadvantages to the Maori. For once the Maori didn't have any protection to diseases brought over by the British. Illnesses like syphilis, measles or the flue were killing Maori. The worst "disease" however was the introduction of fire arms. As soon as the Maori saw fire guns they were eager to get some for their hapu.¹⁶

Since utu (revenge) was deep-rooted in Maori society, battles would be decided by who had a gun already rather than who was the better warrior. It was a time when chiefs would trade muskets overseas and bring them back to New Zealand to attack rival tribes. It was a bloody era in New Zealand history, which only ended when pretty much every tribe had fire arms and no tribe would have an advantage. "From perhaps 250,000 in Cook's time the Maori population had by 1854 slumped to 60,000"¹⁷

14 Vgl. "The discovery of New Zealand", author unknown, <http://history-nz.org/discovery2.html>, 11.09.2011 17:20

15 vgl. "Maori und Gesellschaft", Hartmut Jäcksch, Mana-Verlag, 2007, page 17

16 vgl. "Maori und Gesellschaft", Hartmut Jäcksch, Mana-Verlag, 2007, page 18

17 "Maori of New Zealand – Classic Maori Society", author unknown, http://www.maori.info/maori_society.htm, 27.09.2011, 17:33

But not only cultures were clashing at that time, religions too. Maori had a very different religious view than the European settlers, believing in more gods than one and treating nature as sacred. Missionaries were arriving in New Zealand as early as 1814 to try and convince Maori to change belief to Christianity. First Maori were reluctant to do so, but Missionaries were promising that faith would lead to law and order which would lead to peace and stability throughout the country. In the 30s of the 19th century a change in belief was to be seen. Many important chiefs were changing to Christianity and with them whole tribes. Peace and Order was not to be found right away though.¹⁸

With more and more settlers arriving at the start of the 19th century land, especially fructose land, was getting crowded. Already in 1825 George Lambton already had agents in New Zealand to buy land for new settlers. This first attempt to buy land in New Zealand failed though, due to lack of backing up from the British government. In 1837 the next attempt to buy land of the Maori was made by Edward Wakefield. He made the government a proposal for buying land for new settlers in New Zealand. The government rejected his plan, since it was “not in the interest of the Maori”¹⁹. Event though the government didn't support Wakefield and his “The New Zealand Company” pursued to buy land. In 1839, when Wakefield heard that the British Government was about to annex New Zealand, he sent out agents to buy as much land as they could before the annexation would happen. This lead to big misunderstandings between settlers and Maori. Maori though that when they were selling their land, they would merely let settlers live on their land for trading purpose. But settlers coming over from the UK thought they already bought land to live on. Because of this dispute settlements throughout the country were established. 1839 approximately 10.000 settlers were coming to New Zealand through “The New Zealand Company”.²⁰

These first years of cultural clash was hard on both Maori and European immigrants. Maori were killing themselves or unknowingly selling their land, while immigrants arrived in New Zealand with hope of employment and land-ownership and arrived to find a country in the very beginning of colonisation. It was time that New Zealand became a nation with laws and rules for both Maori and pakeha (originally word for European, white migrants, now common word for white people) to live under. The Treaty of Waitangi was supposed fix those problems.

18 vgl. “Die Maori in Neuseeland”, David Krzysanowski, Grin-Verlag, 2004, page 11

19 “The colonisation of New Zealand”, author unknown, <http://history-nz.org/colonisation1.html> , 11.10.2011, 16:30

20 vgl. “The colonisation of New Zealand”, author unknown, <http://history-nz.org/colonisation1.html> , 11.10.2011, 16:30

3.2 The Treaty of Waitangi

Up until 1840, Maori and Pakeha lived together, more or less helped each other but didn't have any law to live by. Maori were living the same way they were living since they arrived in Aotearoa (Maori word for New Zealand, "Land of the long white cloud"). British settlers were living under the British law. Maori were weak and their numbers were decimated after the seemingly endless battle in between tribes and the British empire wanted to make sure no other country was going to be able to colonise New Zealand. It was time to unite both cultures under one law to stabilise New Zealand and guarantee a peaceful future.

When in 1839 more settlers and speculators were buying land of Maori and rumours were going around that France would annex New Zealand, the crown had to step in. They sent Captain William Hobson to New Zealand to openly negotiate with the Maori to make New Zealand a British colony which would guarantee protection for the Maori. On January 29th 1840 Hobson arrived in New Zealand. He announced that all trades of land made with Europeans would be undergoing investigation. Furthermore he invited all Maori Chiefs to a meeting to negotiate and sign a Treaty to make New Zealand an independent nation under the crown. On February 4th, Hobson gave the Treaty to Reverent Henry Williams, a missionary, who was given the task to translate the Treaty into te reo (Maori language). This proved to be quite difficult as certain words didn't have a literal translation in te reo²¹. It was to be a profound mistake which should bring great disadvantages to the Maori.

The big meeting was held on February 5th 1840 in Waitangi, Bay of Islands. Hobson, in English, announced his version of the Treaty and explained that only by signing over governorship to the Crown, they would be able to protect the Maori. Reverent Williams translated for the almost 500 Maori present. During the following night and day, those 500 Maori debated about signing the Treaty, before signing it on February 6th 1840.²²

During those debates, all of different opinions were expressed. Some were still unhappy about the way the Europeans treated them in the recent years, especially concerning land trades. Some Pakeha were trying to make the Maori not sign the treaty, fearing their previously bought land would be taken back. Missionaries although were convinced that a Treaty would lead to peace and order in a lawless New Zealand. In the end some important Maori chiefs addressed the big problems they had in recent

21 vgl. "Maori und Gesellschaft", Hartmut Jäcksch, Mana-Verlag, 2007, page 30

22 vgl. "The Treaty in brief", author unknown, <http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/politics/treaty/the-treaty-in-brief>, 27.09.2011, 17:16

years and made clear that it was time to find a solution. Since there was no other solution to be expected, they agreed to sign the Treaty. They arranged another meeting on February 6th where more than 40 Maori chiefs, starting with Hone Heke signed the Treaty. New Zealand was born.²³



Image 1 - A 20th-century depiction of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, 6 February 1840.

Alexander Turnbull Library, National Library of New Zealand, Te Puna Matauranga o Aotearoa

As mentioned before the translation of the Treaty was not accurate enough and misunderstandings were unpreventable. In Article 1 of the English version of the Treaty, the Maori ceded “sovereignty” to the crown giving them supreme, independent authority over New Zealand. But since there was no literate translation of that word in te reo, Reverent Williams used the word “kawanatanga” which was commonly used when talking about governance. Therefore the Maori thought they would only allow the crown govern New Zealand. This misunderstanding would lead to protests and inequality between Maori and Pakeha. In Article 2 of the English Treaty “the Queen guaranteed to Māori the undisturbed possession of their properties, including their lands, forests, and fisheries, for as long as they wished to retain them”²⁴. This article was about ownership rights and property safety. In the Maori translation of article 2 Williams used the word “rangatiratanga” which had more of an emphasis on authority Maori had over their land and their taonga (treasures). It might only be a small change but Maori believed that they were gonna keep the authority over the land which they already gave unknowingly gave away in article 1.²⁵

²³ vgl. “The Treaty in brief”, author unknown, <http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/politics/treaty/the-treaty-in-brief>, 27.09.2011, 17:16

²⁴ “Meaning of the Treaty”, author unknown, <http://www.waitangi-tribunal.govt.nz/treaty/meaning.asp>, 27.09.2011, 17:19

²⁵ vgl. “Meaning of the Treaty”, author unknown, <http://www.waitangi-tribunal.govt.nz/treaty/meaning.asp>, 27.09.2011, 17:19

Even though the last article, which promises Maori all rights of a British citizen and guarantees their protection by the crown, was the same in both languages the major differences in the first two articles would lead to confrontations. After that meeting in Waitangi, Hobson traveled the country to get more signatures from other Maori Chiefs. With him traveled missionaries and traders and copies of the Treaty in both English and Maori were handed out. By the end of September 1840 over 500 Maori chiefs had signed the Treaty. Most of them choosing the Maori version. However it is known that a lot of signatures were bought with goods such as tobacco or blankets. Signatures of Maori chiefs were also counted for whole regions even though other tribes living there didn't sign the Treaty. The Crown also "later declared that the Treaty applied to Māori tribes whose chiefs had not signed"²⁶. Even though most of the Maoris signed the Maori version of the Treaty, the crown only recognized the English version of it, trying to make the differences in Treaty versions none-existing. On May 21st 1840, while signatures were still being collected, the crown proclaimed sovereignty over New Zealand. It is the lawful birth date of New Zealand as a nation.²⁷

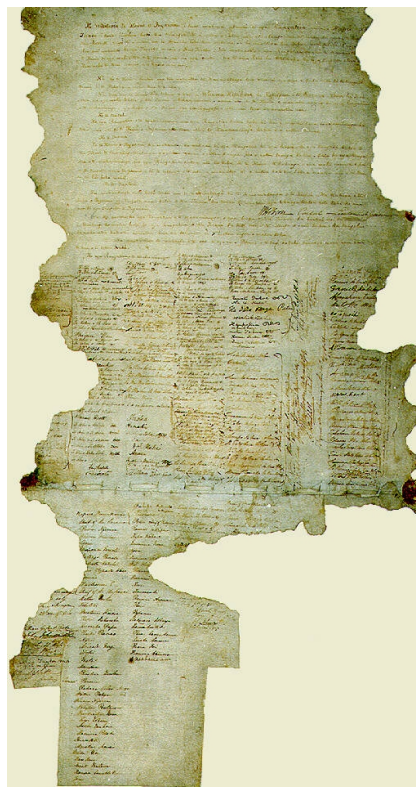


Image 2 – Maori version of the Treaty of Waitangi with all signatures

26 "The Treaty in brief", author unknown, <http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/politics/treaty/the-treaty-in-brief> , 27.09.2011 , 17:16

27 vgl. "Maori und Gesellschaft", Hartmut Jäcksch, Mana-Verlag, 2007, page 32

3.3 New Zealand after the Treaty – The Land Wars

The Treaty of Waitangi was supposed to help New Zealand into a peaceful future where Maori and European settlers could like and work together. But following the signing of the Treaty and the birth of New Zealand all over New Zealand, although mostly on the North Island, land wars erupted throughout the next 30 years.

The causes of those confrontations between Maori and the British government had many reasons. For once more and more European settlers came over with Maori populations still decreasing. However the Maori were less willing to sell their land, especially after the Treaty, in their eyes, gave them full authority over their lands. As earlier mentioned Maori see their land as sacred place of their ancestors and as vital to their future. The settlers however saw nothing more in it than a necessity to acquire more land to grow and expand their communities. Another reason it came to those battles was, that company such as “The New Zealand company” didn't stop with their dubious means of buying land of Maori.²⁸

The first violent confrontation happened in 1843 when settlers from Nelsen attacked a tribe to enforce a dispute sale of their land. With no legal basis the settlers were asking the Maori chief Te Rauparaha of the Ngati Toa tribe to surrender. Since Maori didn't do no such thing as surrender it became, what is today regarded as, the first battle of the land wars. Fifteen people died at that confrontation in June 1843. Eleven fleeing settlers were captured and executed as part of *utu*, for the dead Maori. This act shows that settlers were becoming impatient and were willing to force Maori off their land.²⁹

It was getting clearer that the not only the settlers but the crown were willing to enforce land sales. At the beginning it was harder for the crown to do so, since missing manpower and insufficient funds were keeping them unable to enforce their will. Maori realised that the threat of land possession called for changes in their society. Chiefs were not being selected by blood but by skills. Allot of *iwis* (tribes) were joining together to oppose settlers and by 1858 the Maori choose the first ever Maori King to show unity against the crown. This was seen as a challenge to the sovereignty of the crown and led to more wars in the 60's. In the eyes of the settlers it was time to show the Maori who had control over New Zealand³⁰.

28 vgl. “MAORI WARS”, by Keith Sinclair , <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/1966/maori-wars/1> , 13.10.2011 , 16:14

29 vgl. “A brief overview”, Danny Keenan, <http://www.newzealandwars.co.nz/campaigns.html> , 13.10.2011 , 16:00

30 vgl. “Maori und Gesellschaft”, Hartmut Jäcksch, Mana-Verlag, 2007, page 45-47

In 1965 just after a battle for land in the Waikato region, the government issued the 1865 Native land act. One of the major changes was the establishment of the Native Land Court. Since the many confrontation in recent years didn't help the crown gain more land for the increasing number of settlers they had to try a different approach. This court was to make it easier for Pakeha to purchase Maori land. It converted to communal landholdings into individual titles, meaning that a block of land could no longer be owned by a whole tribe but only by ten owners. This made it easier for Pakeha to negotiate with those ten owners without having to negotiate with the whole tribe. The rest of the tribe was simply dispossessed. Since only ten people could be owner of land, a result of it would often be deep cuts in a Maori tribe.³¹

The court was also to decide who was the rightful owner of the land, in cases of dispute over past land sales. The judges in the court had almost no big understanding of the Maori culture and used European law making Pakeha favourites in almost all cases. Cases were only able to be investigated when people were present at the court. Maori had to travel to court to make their case. For the Maori this often meant to borrow money to pay for accommodation, lawyers and food. Ironically, even when they won the case, Maori often had to sell their land to clear their depths made by travelling to court. If Maori didn't show up to court, the court would give the land away to Pakeha with Maori often unknowingly losing their land. When looking back at the Native Land Court, the only good thing for Maori coming out was that landowners were allowed to vote. Before this no Maori was allowed to vote and only landowners, recognised by the crown were able to. Now Maori declared as rightful landowner were able to vote. In 1967 though the government included 4 seats in parliament only for Maori and only voted for by Maori. Even though it might seem like an attempt to integrate Maori into politics it was merely to make them unable to vote for the other seats. The four seats in parliament almost didn't have any weight since there were more than 20 other seats in parliament so they could govern without needing Maori approval.³²

31 vgl. "Native Land court created", author unknown, <http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/page/native-land-court-created> , 13.10.2011 , 17:29

32 vgl. "Maori und Gesellschaft", Hartmut Jäcksch, Mana-Verlag, 2007, pages 48 - 49

The time of the land wars, was a time of impatience by the settlers who by the end of the century thought that Maori were about to extinct. Maori population dropped to 40.000 in the 90s of the 19th century.³³

Even though most confrontation had ended in 1972, Maori were still trying to oppose the will of the crown. The wish of the government to build a massive North Island Main Trunk railway was opposed for another decade. The last barrier for the government was broken in 1916 when the “arrest of Rua Kenana at Maungapohatu ends Maori autonomy in Urewera”³⁴. The casualties of all Maori wars might have not been as high as over other civil wars in the world but most of those casualties were on Maori side. The wars were leading to a society in the 20th century led by settlers not by natives, with Maori openly being regarded as second class citizens.³⁵

	Anti-government Maori	British/Colonists/ Kupapa
Northern War (1845–6)	94	82
Wellington/Wanganui (1846–7)	15	14
Taranaki (1860–61, 1863)	196	64
Waikato/Bay of Plenty (1863–4)	619	162
Pai Marire, etc. (1864–8)	772	128
Titokowaru's War (1868–9)	59	83
Te Kooti's War (1868–72)	399	212
Total casualties	2154	745

Tabelle 1: Casualties in New Zealand land wars

³³ vgl. “Maori und Gesellschaft”, Hartmut Jäcksch, Mana-Verlag, 2007, page 51

³⁴ “Timeline – New Zealand's 19th-century wars”, author unknown, <http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/war/new-zealands-19th-century-wars/nzwars-timeline> , 13.10.2011 , 16:13

³⁵ vgl. “End of the New Zealand wars” , author unknown <http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/war/new-zealand-wars/end> , 13.10.2011 , 16:12

3.4 20th century New Zealand

The 19th century in New Zealand was marked by big opportunities and bloody wars between Maori and Pakeha. In 1840 after years of warfare between Maori tribes, it seemed like New Zealand was taking a big step towards a peaceful future, for natives and settlers alike, with the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi. But in the following years settlers and Maori were battling for land because of their different views on how to use and maintain it. Many settlers thought that, time given, Maori would extinguish. With a Maori cultural revival at the start of the 20th century, it became obvious that this wasn't going to happen. So the settlers were changing their Maori agenda and tried a different path. Maori were to become British model citizen³⁶.

This resulted, as displayed later on, in major protest and identity loss for Maori. Just one of many examples, is the banning of te reo in New Zealand schools. Maori were forced to speak English and only English. Therefore whole generations grew up without their own language³⁷.

By the time the first world war erupted Maori had different views on fighting for the British Crown. Some saw an opportunity to prove themselves and rushed to sign up. This led to 2000 Maori serving in the first world war in the "Native Contingent". Other Maori saw no need to fight for the British Crown regarding the treatment they got from the crown in the 19th century. Especially areas where land was confiscated as a punishment for opposing the crown in the land wars, didn't want to fight for them.³⁸

Even though the government was scared to use the Maori in battle, fearing they would turn on the crown, they accepted Maori soldiers and sent them to battle. On February 15th, the 500-men strong "Native Contingent" was sent to Egypt. The name, although quiet offensive, stayed until after world war 2. It's quiet ironic that it was in those wars that New Zealanders fighting alongside Maori started to see them as equals. Fighting and spending their free time playing rugby together made them realise how similar they were. Although the government tried to integrate Maori before, it was war that brought both sides closer together³⁹.

36 vgl. "Maori und Gesellschaft", Hartmut Jäcksch, Mana-Verlag, 2007, page 51

37 "Whare Maori", MTS, 2011, Scottie Productions, Episode 11, Part 1

38 "Maori and the First World War", author unknown, <http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/war/maori-in-first-world-war/introduction>, 18.10.2011, 15:41

39 "White man's war? - Maori and the First World War", author unknown, <http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/war/maori-in-first-world-war/overview>, 18.10.2011, 15:43

Although the 4 Maori-MP (Major Player – had the 4 Maori seats in government) were united in their effort to get Maori to fight in the war, it got harder and harder to mobilize Maori. The Native Contingent Committee couldn't meet their quotas of 150 Maori every four weeks. This led to the Military Service Act of 1916 to extend to Maori in June 1917. The act imposed conscription on Pakeha and then Maori. Maori that refused to fight for the British Crown were arrested and taken to a training camp. Fortunately out of 522 men called only 74 Maori had actually gone to camp, making the Military service Act ineffective. However this act showed once again that even though Maori were tried to integrate, if not willing, they would be forced to⁴⁰.

When Maori culture had its revival at the start of the 20th century, the government had to find new ways to include Maori since it was obvious that Maori still pursued their vision of self-governance. A new, young generation of political Maori, especially the YMP (Young Maori Party) was determined to improve Maori life. In 1900, reacting to those groups, the Maori Council Act was signed, establishing Maori councils in all regions of Aotearoa. Even though Maori thought it was one step towards authority over their land and that they could take care of their own business. In 1905 however those councils were replaced by the Maori Land Boards led by Pakeha. It became clear that the British Crown never intended to help the Maori gain more self-governance. Those councils only had influences in the health-sector and were strongly regulated by the government. It was merely to satisfy the Maori need of self-determination. The government thought it would lead to a Europeanisation of the Maori and would lead them towards an individualistic thinking. Even though Maori were opposing those Maori Land Boards, in preparation for the wars, their protest was unheard and went under⁴¹.

In 1918, a religious movement was established by Tahupotiki Wiremu Ratana, the ratana church. Ratana apparently had a vision of God which told him to convert people to his faith. He preached to leave tribalism behind and aspects of Maori culture such as carving were not supported. His mix of Maori culture and Christianity attracted a lot of followers. Since his church had so many followers the movement started to get political. His church had the chance to speak for a wide range of Maori⁴².

40 "Resistance to conscription - Maori and the First World War", author unknown , <http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/war/maori-in-first-world-war/resistance-to-conscription> , 18.10.2011 , 15:44

41 vgl. "Maori und Gesellschaft", Hartmut Jäcksch, Mana-Verlag, 2007, pages 51-53

42 "Whare Maori", MTS , 2011, Scottie Productions , Episode 8

Ratana's goal in 1922, when the Ratana movement created a political arm, was to hold all four Maori seats in parliament. In 1932 the first MP out of the Ratana faith was voted into parliament. Three years later the Ratana movement formed an alliance with the Labour Party and in 1943, all Maori seats were filled with Ratana followers. One of the main goals of those MPs was the upholding of the Treaty of Waitangi. It was the most pressing issue, and still is, for Maori. Ratana didn't reach this goal but his church gave the Maori back some of their identity and unity⁴³.

After the second world war, a lot of Maori were leaving the land and moving into the city in hopes of economical wealth. By a lot of Pakehas that was a sign for a weakened desire for autonomy. This moving away from rural areas into urban regions, however led to an identity crisis that would lead to big protest in the 70s. Until those protests, the government adopted many new acts. In 1953 the Maori Affairs Act forced unused Maori land into use. Maori that felt like their once owned land was not being used could apply to have it put in trustees. This act was the foundation of the Bastion Point Protest and its solving, as later discussed. In 1962 the New Zealand Maori Council was established and later replaced by the Waitangi Tribunal. This council was able to give suggestions to the government concerning Maori matter, especially regarding the Treaty of Waitangi. However as the council didn't have the power to enforce, a lot of questions stayed unanswered. Another significant act was adopted in 1967. The Maori Affairs Amendment Act was able to convert Maori land with four or less owners into general land. Following this act, demonstration occurred and in 1974 the act was modified.⁴⁴

The most important new establishment was the Waitangi Tribunal, created by the Treaty of Waitangi Act in 1975. It was probably the biggest confession ever made by the New Zealand government towards Maori. The Tribunal was a council that looked at breaches of the Treaty of Waitangi by the crown. Maori who felt cheated could make their case and the Tribunal would properly investigate the case and give a court an suggestion what was mostly followed and led to land to be given back. In 1985 the Tribunal got permission to look at breaches of the Treaty back to 1840, admitting that a peaceful future in New Zealand would only be possible if the past was looked at and solution found. This Tribunal was vital to many solutions found for Maori land claims. Finally the government was trying to help and admitted that they made huge mistakes in New Zealand history⁴⁵.

43 vgl. "Die Maori in Neuseeland", David Krzysanowski, Grin-Verlag, 2004, page 15

44 "Treaty events since 1950 - Treaty timeline", author unknown, <http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/politics/treaty/treaty-timeline/treaty-events-1950>, 27.09.2011, 17:26

45 vgl. "Die Maori in Neuseeland", David Krzysanowski, Grin-Verlag, 2004, pages 16 - 17

3.5 Maori Protests – Bastion Point

While most Maori thought a change towards liberation would only come through political channels, a new generation of Maori activists started protesting against the government. With the move to the cities Maori started to learn about their own history and culture and felt like their identity was taken by the government⁴⁶. Inspired by activists groups from other countries in the 60s, they started their own. For example the protest group “Brown power” was inspired by the “Black Power” movement in America, even though they weren't as radical⁴⁷. Following the increase in newly-found protest groups, the 70s were to become the most important decade for Maori protests in their conquest for self-determination.

Since the end of the second world war, the image of Maori in Pakeha eyes had changed. More Pakeha were realising what injustice Maori had to undergo in the last century. However the government didn't take enough steps towards that goal. This split in society, was very clearly seen when the South African rugby team was invited on a tour through New Zealand in 1981. The South African team was selected racially since apartheid was still practised in South Africa. The country was divided into tour supporters and anti-tour activists. In the 56 days, the tour lasted, more than 150,000 people took part in protests around the country. During the tour 1500 protesters were arrested⁴⁸. Sport was secondary in those days. Anti-tour supporters were not only Maori or Pakeha. The whole nation was either on one or the other side. It was an argument between the old and new New Zealand. Many protesters felt like the old New Zealand was not dealing with racism and were welcoming the tour because of it. In their eyes a support of the tour was the same as supporting racism. It led to new discussions about the place of Maori in New Zealand society. Until then New Zealand was proud to have good race relations but it became obvious that true equality was not yet reached.⁴⁹ It was the time “when New Zealand lost its innocence as a country and as being a watershed in our view of ourselves as a country and people”⁵⁰. It was the last time that a rugby team selected by race toured New Zealand.

46 vgl. “Pathway to Protest”, author unknown, <http://www.waitangi-tribunal.govt.nz/reports/viewchapter.asp?reportID=49AF06E3-FBCB-45C5-9E97-2C2044B558C2&chapter=60> , 27.09.2011 , 17:05

47 vgl. “The Evolution of Contemporary Maori Protest”, by Te Ahu, <http://www.maorinews.com/writings/papers/other/protest.html> , 27.09.2011 , 17:38

48 vgl. “The 1981 Springbok rugby tour”, author unknown, <http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/culture/1981-springbok-tour> , 6.10.2011 , 15:06

49 vgl. “Battle lines are drawn - 1981 Springbok tour”, author unknown, <http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/culture/1981-springbok-tour/battle-lines-are-drawn> , 6.10.2011 , 15:03

50 “The 1981 Springbok rugby tour”, author unknown, <http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/culture/1981-springbok-tour> , 6.10.2011 , 15:06



Image 3 - Springbok Tour Protest on Church Steps 1981, The Nelson Mail Collection

Another important protest was the land march in 1975. Fed up with the efforts made by the government to give back land to the Maori, Whina Cooper led a 5000 men strong protester group from the Far North of the North island through the country down to Wellington. With the slogan “not one more acre”, they arrived in Wellington and handed over the Memorial of Rights to the Prime Minister. It was signed by 200 Maori leaders and the petition handed over alongside had over 60,000 signatures. This march happened just before the government passed the Treaty of Waitangi Act and brought back the land issues to the public. It was an important protest so the public would not forget the struggle and inequality they had suffered⁵¹.

Probably the biggest and most significant protest was held over 16 months at Bastion Point in Auckland. The Ngati Whatua tribe had lived on Bastion Points for generations and after massive land acquisitions were holding less than 1 ha in 1977. When the government announced a housing project on their former land, Ngati Whatua started occupying the land. For 506 days protesters stayed before they were evicted by the police. Ten years later the government followed the suggestion of the Waitangi Tribunal and gave the land back to Ngati Whatua⁵².

51 vgl. “Māori land rights”, author unknown, <http://www.tepapa.govt.nz/WhatsOn/exhibitions/SliceofHeaven/Exhibition/Maori/Pages/Landrights.aspx>, 6.10.2011, 15:19

52 vgl. “Bastion Point land returned”, author unknown, <http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/the-government-announces-return-of-bastion-point-to-maori-owners>, 19.10.2011, 16:47

The occupation of Bastion Point was the tip of the iceberg. It wasn't only about Ngati Whatua and their land but about all Maori who had lost their land due to acquisitions. The occupation started when the Maori Activist Group had mobilised support for Ngati Whatua people and in January 1977, 150 protesters occupied the land. Even though it started out small, the camp grew quickly in size. A marae was build with meeting houses and watchtowers. It was obvious that the protesters weren't giving up any time soon. But not only Maori were protesting. Next to Maori from a variety of tribes, young Europeans stood side by side. Maori were experiencing the unity of a tribe for the first time and felt like they belong somewhere while others were learning more about their past. Maori culture was taught at the camp and a revival of Maori culture was celebrated. Every day new groups arrived and if not to stay, they would visit the marae and express their support. Throughout the whole country, people showed their support⁵³.



Image 4 - The eviction of the Bastion Point occupiers in May, 1978.

Courtesy of the New Zealand Herald

Throughout the camp two different groups were trying to achieve recognition by the government. While the Maori Activist Group wanted to get back all the land the “moderates” used the Maori Affairs Act from 1953 and claimed that their land was not being used properly. In the end the government only dealt with the moderates since their claim was less radical. On February 25th 1978 a meeting with the government was held and a solution was found⁵⁴. The government gave back part of their land to Ngati Whatua. Ten years later when the Waitangi Tribunal released their report more land was given back.

53 vgl. “The Bastion Point Protest”, author unknown, <http://www.waitangi-tribunal.govt.nz/reports/viewchapter.asp?reportID=49AF06E3-FBCB-45C5-9E97-2C2044B558C2&chapter=61> , 27.09.2011 , 17:08

54 vgl. “Compromise and Conflict”, author unknown, <http://www.waitangi-tribunal.govt.nz/reports/viewchapter.asp?reportID=49AF06E3-FBCB-45C5-9E97-2C2044B558C2&chapter=62> , 27.09.2011 , 17:09

3.6 Maori in present society

Today Maori live in a well integrated society with support for their culture. Even though claims are still being made to the Waitangi Tribunal, up until now over 200, the government takes responsibility for the past. Maori still exist in their whanau community in rural regions, while most Maori live in the cities though. With over 500,000 the population of Maori has seen an immense increase compared to the low of 40,000 at the end of the 19th century. Maori is a young race with more than 35% being 15 years and younger. Compared to that under 5% are 65 and older. This mirrors the high mortality rate and high birth rate Maori have⁵⁵.

A big problem of Maori in today's world is unemployment. After the big move to the cities Maori were mostly used in the secondary sector, doing labouring jobs. When automatism hit the economy allot of jobs, mostly done by Maori, fell away. In 2001 Maori unemployment was a quarter of all unemployment in New Zealand. Interesting is that half of those are not older than 20 years old. This increase led to a high crime rate because young Maori without education or jobs started gangs. Even though people see Maori as reason for most crimes, comparison to Pakeha and other ethnic groups in that age don't show that its a Maori problem. Another problem caused by high unemployment is the use of alcohol⁵⁶.

Event though Maori still have different problems to the rest of New Zealand, the government has taken more steps towards a future, where Maori can express themselves with the support of other ethnic groups in Aotearoa. Te Reo is now taught in school and is officially the second language of New Zealand. The revival of the language is supported by radio stations and the Maori channel in Tv which are broadcasted in te reo. In the last 20 years allot has been done to support Maori culture. Kohanga reo are school teaching children in early ages the importance of their culture. In 1992 the Ministry of Maori Development was started and since then it's been supporting Maori in their problems and looking for ways to fully integrate Maori in society. In 1995 the British Crown apologized for the land confiscations of the 19th century and ensured a payment of 80 million € towards the Maori, whose land had been claimed. It looks like New Zealand can slowly forget the past and move towards a united nation in which every ethnic group can live with each other without disadvantages⁵⁷.

55 vgl. "Die Maori in Neuseeland", David Krzysanowski, Grin-Verlag, 2004, pages 17 - 19

56 vgl. "Die Maori in Neuseeland", David Krzysanowski, Grin-Verlag, 2004, page 20

57 vgl. "Die Maori in Neuseeland", David Krzysanowski, Grin-Verlag, 2004, pages 20 - 24

4 History of New Zealand feature film

Up until now, Maori have struggled to gain self-determination and authority in New Zealand. Since the Treaty of Waitangi and the birth of New Zealand, the Pakeha were the superior group. So how did this affect the feature film making in New Zealand. When were Maori first shown in films and when did they start making their own?

It's remarkable that New Zealand, with its remote location, started as early as other countries into the new age of cinema. This chapter give an overview of the New Zealand feature film history. Documentaries won't be included. Even though they are sometimes used to create images of certain people as well, normally they are used to show reality as it is and not to create one as are feature films. Therefore images of Maori are certainly more often created in feature film.

Bringing the New Zealand film history into context with Maori history in New Zealand will show how images of Maori changed when change came to Maori in general. For example the move away from rural areas into the city was taken by John O'Shea and put into a film in which a Maori struggles with his identity loss after moving to the city.

Apart from that this chapter will look at the major corner stones of New Zealand feature film history from its start in the late 19th century up to recent successes as „*The Piano*“ (1993, Jane Campion) or the „*The Lord of the rings*“ trilogy (2001-2003, Peter Jackson).

4.1 The Beginnings

New Zealand film started as early as 1896 with the first known screening in “Auckland on October 13, 1896”⁵⁸ which showed a couple of short films making it the first commercial “film projection in New Zealand”⁵⁹. Since film back in those days didn't fill enough time, films were usually shown alongside other attractions.

One of the first people realising the potential of film was the showmen Alfred Henry Whitehouse. Even before the the first public film projection in 1896 he already toured New Zealand's with his kinetoscope bringing film to small villages around the country. Making enough money out of the tour, he went to London in 1897, visiting “Thomas Edison in New Jersey, USA”⁶⁰ on the way and bringing back a new kinematograph. Whitehouse imported a camera in 1898 shooting the “first images of New Zealand”⁶¹ The first pictures taken were from the opening of the Auckland Industrial and Mining Exhibition, on December 1, 1898. Until 1900 he shot a couple of more films, which he took the Paris Exhibition but after that never filmed anything himself again, retiring once cinema theatres were established around the country. Only fragments of one of his films survived making “*The Departure of the second Contingent for the Boer War*” (1900) “New Zealand's earliest surviving moving image”⁶²

Even though New Zealand started as early as other countries in their film making, feature films weren't made for a while. Most of the films were simple documentations of big events happening in New Zealand like the “*The Visit of the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall to Rotorua*” (1901) filmed by the “Limelight Department of the Australian Salvation Army”⁶³. Another film made was “*New Zealand Footballers: The All Blacks Arrival and Reception at Auckland 1906*” (1906) showing the return of the All Blacks national rugby team from their tour in Britain. By 1907 the “Tourist Department was making government films”⁶⁴ already indicating the turn New Zealand film history would go a couple of years later.

58 “The First Picture Show”, author unknown, http://www.filmarchive.org.nz/archive_presents/boerwar/volatiles/subject.html Stand: 06.09.2011 12:18

59 “The First Picture Show”, author unknown, http://www.filmarchive.org.nz/archive_presents/boerwar/volatiles/subject.html Stand: 06.09.2011 12:18

60 “Whitehouse, Alfred Henry – Biography”, author unknown <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/2w16/1> Stand: 06.09.2011 15:25

61 “History of New Zealand Film - Page: 3”, author unknown, http://www.suite101.com/article.cfm/new_zealand_history/40569/3 Stand: 06.09.2011 12:31

62 “AH Whitehouse, 1856-1929”, author unknown, <http://www.filmarchive.org.nz/tracking-shots/cast-and-crew/whitehouse.html> Stand: 06.09.2011 15:12

63 “A history of the New Zealand fiction feature film”, Bruce Babington, 2007, page 28

64 “A history of the New Zealand fiction feature film”, Bruce Babington, 2007, page 29

While feature films weren't made yet, cinemas all over the country became more famous.. In 1911 the a Bioscope issue notes "that Fuller and Sons' new Auckland theatre holds 1,800 people"⁶⁵. Even though New Zealand, to that date, never made an own feature film, films from all over the world were shown in New Zealand cinemas.

With no government funding available for feature films, New Zealand film makers were very restricted in their efforts to make films, making it easier to film current events. A reason why documentaries were dominant until the 1970s. "From 1912 to 1940, the overwhelming majority of films produced in New Zealand, were short government-sponsored documentaries"⁶⁶. In those days it was common that film-makers from all over the world came to New Zealand to capture footage, not only of the unique landscape it had to offer, but of the Maori. In the eye of the rest of the world, New Zealand with its indigenous people were as exotic as it got.

One of the first film-makers coming over was the Frenchman Gaston Méliès, stopping in New Zealand on a world tour "to make films in Tahiti, New Zealand, Australia, Java, Siam and Japan"⁶⁷ in 1912. Coming with it's own crew and actors he travelled New Zealand, though only the North Island, making several short documentaries and working on three fiction shorts: "*Hinemoa*" (1913), "*How Chief Te Ponga Won His Bride*" (1913) and "*Loved by a Maori Chieftess*" (1913), "the first two with all-Maori casts"⁶⁸.

Méliès wasn't the only film-maker coming to New Zealand at the start of the century. New Zealand became well known as an exotic place to film "with the Maori, the chief attraction"⁶⁹ In combination with the breath-taking natural landscape it was an unknown territory, film-makers were eager to explore. It shows how New Zealand film, already in their early stages, were influenced by the Maori.

65 "A history of the New Zealand fiction feature film", Bruce Babington, 2007, page 29 , Bioscope, 26 January 1911, 47

66 "A history of the New Zealand fiction feature film", Bruce Babington, 2007, page 30

67 "A history of the New Zealand fiction feature film", Bruce Babington, 2007, page 32

68 "A history of the New Zealand fiction feature film", Bruce Babington, 2007, page 32

69 "A history of the New Zealand feature film", Bruce Babington, 2007, page 33

After Méliès visit to New Zealand began a phase of increased feature film-making. The first feature film made was "*Hinemoa*" (1914) by George Tarr and is about the same Maori legend as Méliès feature film. Tarr's film was a sign that "indigenous people were to become a mainstay of the nations film making"⁷⁰

This film started feature film making in New Zealand even though until 1940 "only twenty-seven fiction feature films"⁷¹ were made with "14 of which were by New Zealanders"⁷². Some of the most important films made in that period were "*Under the Southern Cross*" (1926, Gustav Pauli), "*Down on the Farm*" (1935, Stewart Pitt) and Rudall Haywards three films: "*Rewi's Last Stand*" (1925), "*The Te Kooti Trail*" (1927) and "*Rewi's Last Stand*" (1940).

Looking at those early days of film-making in New Zealand it becomes obvious how hard it was for New Zealand film-makers. With no government funding, no available studios, almost no people with the expertise of making film and hard to come by equipment, the industry was dominated by foreign film-makers coming to New Zealand capturing its beauty and its people. It is remarkable the feature films emerged though leading the way for film-makers to come.

The Maori were the foundation of the interest in making film in New Zealand. From all over the world people came to get images of the natives. Without them New Zealand would have been just another country with a beautiful landscape. So even though Maori to that weren't making their own films rather than act in them and being the topic of the films, they had a profound influence of the development of the nations film industry.

70 "History of New Zealand Film - Page: 3", author unknown,
http://www.suite101.com/article.cfm/new_zealand_history/40569/3 Stand 06.09.2011 12:31

71 "A History of New Zealand feature film", Bruce Babington, 2007, page 31

72 "A History of New Zealand feature film", Bruce Babington, 2007, page 31

4.2 Rudall Hayward

Rudall Hayward was one of the pioneers of New Zealand film-makers. He directed films all over the world, from the UK to Albania and China. But his most successful films were made in New Zealand. Throughout his career he made seven feature films, with his “greatest triumph [...] the 1940 sound remake of his 1925 film *Rewi's Last Stand*”⁷³.

“Born into a family of entertainers and cinema owners”⁷⁴ he moved to New Zealand in the early 20th century with his family. His family owned an entertainment company touring New Zealand just like the first showmen bringing moving pictures to New Zealand. After successes on the road the family set up cinemas in Auckland where Rudall made his first experiences with film sitting “at the feet of a projectionist”⁷⁵. He showed an early interest in film-making by making “his own crude camera using a projector inside a box”⁷⁶, filming his cat. After going to college in 1920 he made his first film “The bloke from Freeman's Bay”, getting her Aunt to screen it in her Ponsonby (Area in Auckland) cinema. Rudall knew how to sell a film, hanging up posters for the screening all around town which resulted in a full screening with people outside not getting in. Making the headlines of the newspaper the next day because of a riot outside the cinema. This forced his family to move the film to a bigger cinema in Auckland. Even though it was quite successful, the money he had was lost on efforts to release the film internationally. It is said that his Uncle didn't like the film and offered him 50 pounds to burn it and therefore protect the family name. Rudall declined.⁷⁷

In the following years, until the end of the silent film era, Hayward made four more features, his first feature film “*My Lady of the Cave*” (1922) “*Rewi's Last Stand*” (1925), “*The Te Kooti Trail*” (1927) and “*The Bush Cinderella*” (1928). Those films already indicated his primary topics in his films the “historical conflicts between Maori and Pakeha”⁷⁸.

73 “Rudall Hayward, 1900-1974”, author unknown <http://www.filmarchive.org.nz/tracking-shots/cast-and-crew/rudall-hayward.html> , 12.09.2011 , 13:12

74 “Rudall Hayward - The man behind the camera”, author unknown <http://www.aucklandmuseum.com/?t=1497> , 12.09.2011 , 13:11

75 “Hayward, Rudall Charles Victor – Biography”, author unknown <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/4h22/1> , 12.09.2011 , 13:07

76 “Hayward, Rudall Charles Victor – Biography”, author unknown <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/4h22/1> , 12.09.2011 , 13:07

77 vgl. “Hayward, Rudall Charles Victor – Biography”, author unknown <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/4h22/1> , 12.09.2011 , 13:07

78 “Rudall Hayward – Biography”, author unknown, <http://www.nzonscreen.com/person/rudall-hayward/biography> , 12.09.2011 , 13:14

The end of the silent film era, brought New Zealand film-making to a halt. With equipment from overseas too expensive and closely patented it put Hayward in a tight spot. Either buy expensive technology or make his own. He decided to do last. The next two years Hayward and his companions developed and made their own sound-recording camera which he used until his last feature film in the seventies. His first sound feature was “On the friendly Road” (1936) with famous radio host Uncle Scrim.⁷⁹

Hayward was making films until his death in 1974 but is best known for his critically acclaimed remake of his first “*Rewi’s Last Stand*” in 1940. The film will be discussed in a later chapter in more depth. The film is the story of true events happening in Orakau (now part of the greater Auckland area), “where 300 Waikato and Ngati Maniapoto Maori defenders, including women and children, refused to surrender to a force of British militia six times larger”⁸⁰ (Waikato and Ngato Maniapoto are Maori tribes) than them. It was very well received in New Zealand and taken to the UK by Hayward, where it was re-cut and made about 20 minutes shorter, to be seen as a b-film. The film marked a first peak of Maori topic films and underlines the importance of Maori and their history had for the New Zealand film industry. No other film was as important or critically acclaimed as “*Rewi’s Last Stand*” (1940). It is being “compared to the historical films of John Ford and D.W.Griffith”⁸¹ by its significance to the New Zealand film. Used as historical proof it was “screened for many years to Kiwi school children”⁸² to educate them on New Zealand and Maori history.

In the next thirty years Hayward mostly made documentaries. Being able to shoot in Albania, the UK, and even China, making short documentaries like “*The amazing dolphin of Oponoi*” (1956), which was shown in 26 countries, and educational shorts. He married his second wife Ramai Te Miha in 1943, who was also the star of his 1940 remake, just days after divorcing his first wife. Hayward made his last feature film “*To Love a Maori*” in 1972. Staying true to his Maori topics, this film is about the struggle of an interracial couple in New Zealand. Hayward died as a film-maker promoting this film in 1974 in Dunedin (city on the south island).⁸³

79 vgl. “Rudall Hayward - The man behind the camera”, author unknown <http://www.aucklandmuseum.com/?t=1497> , 12.09.2011 , 13:11

80 “A history of the New Zealand feature film”, Bruce Babington, 2007, page 67

81 “Hayward, Rudall Charles Victor – Biography”, author unknown <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/4h22/1> , 12.09.2011 , 13:07

82 “Rudall Hayward – Biography”, author unknown, <http://www.nzonscreen.com/person/rudall-hayward/biography> , 12.09.2011 , 13:14

83 vgl. “Rudall Hayward - The man behind the camera”, author unknown <http://www.aucklandmuseum.com/?t=1497> , 12.09.2011 , 13:11

4.3 National Film Unit, the struggle of feature film

The New Zealand government never funded feature films up to the 1970s. Apart from documentaries nothing was being funded. The tourism department funded documentaries in the early century to bring tourism to New Zealand, making it interesting for the rest of the world. When the second world war began and New Zealand was fighting alongside the allies, they established the National Film Unit (NFU) “to provide film publicity of New Zealand's war effort”⁸⁴. The goal was not only to show people at home pictures from the war but to make propaganda films as such in other countries, boosting the spirit in those harsh times.

Government funding for scenic shorts and travelogues started as early as 1923. Filmcraft Ltd., a private company, got contracted to make those films which led to the building of the Miramar Studios in 1928. Later this studio would become the first home of the National Film Unit. New Zealand government up to that point made films for every one but New Zealanders. The focus was more on bringing the world to New Zealand rather than producing films for New Zealanders.

This changed with the establishing of the NFU in August 1941. Now the focus lay on making short and newsreels for consumption in New Zealand. While the second world war went on, the main goal was to bring picture, of their fellow people fighting in the war, back home. The NFU brought out a newsreel, shown weekly called “*Weekly Review*”. Even Rudall Hayward “became a National Film Unit cinema photographer”⁸⁵ explaining his move towards documentaries after that. It is no coincidence that after his 1940 movie up until his last feature film in 1972, Hayward only made documentaries and educational films.

After the war the “*Weekly Review*” continued airing until 1950 when it stopped after four hundred and sixty episode. The focus changed to problems concerning New Zealand and films for different departments of the government or national organisations. In 1971 production ceased and their studios were increasingly used by private companies. Up until that point the NFU ran under the Department of tourist and publicity. In 1990 after 49 years the government had no real need for the NFU anymore and sold it.⁸⁶

84 “The National Film Unit”, author unknown, <http://audiovisual.archives.govt.nz/nationalfilmunit/>, 12.09.2011, 16:46

85 “Rudall Hayward - The man behind the camera”, author unknown <http://www.aucklandmuseum.com/?t=1497>, 12.09.2011, 13:11

86 vgl. “The National Film Unit”, author unknown, <http://audiovisual.archives.govt.nz/nationalfilmunit/>, 12.09.2011, 16:46

Since the government, up until the 70s, only funded documentaries, the film-makers looking to make fiction feature films still had to struggle. No wonder that in the 32 years between *“Rewis Last Stand”* (1940) and *“To Love a Maori”* (1972) “only three features [were] [...] made in New Zealand”⁸⁷. All of them by John O’Shea, another pioneer of New Zealand film, who will be discussed in the next chapter.

It is quiet strange that the government didn’t have more interest in supporting feature film making looking at the great numbers of New Zealanders going to the cinema every week. Moving pictures kept their fascination from the early work of A. H. Whitehouse to the present day that “only drinking tea was more popular in New Zealand than going to the movies”⁸⁸.

In 1959, with a total population of just under three million, 578 cinemas could be found throughout the country an admission of 37.5 million every year. That states that each person went to the movies an average of 17 times.⁸⁹ Remembering that allot of small communities, especially Maori, didn’t care for films makes those numbers even more fascinating. So why was there never any support for an entertainment film industry?

In the history of New Zealand government funding they were two occasions when it was briefly thought about supporting feature film making. “In 1934 when the Committee of Enquiry into the Motion Picture Industry replied to representations that footage levies should be reimposed to support the setting up of a film industry, by making no recommendations at all”⁹⁰.

The second time was in 1949 when the government replied to questions about whether a national film industry would be desirable. It made clear that at that point it was not clear that films made in New Zealand were profitable enough to make money out of them and no public money would be spend on feature film-making. So in the end the New Zealand government didn’t think about film as an art form or how historical valuable films could be. Other advantages like work for local people, saving of money from importing films (2500.000 pounds a year) or sales of New Zealand films overseas fell on deaf ears. All it saw was immediate profit⁹¹.

87 “A History of the New Zealand feature film”, Bruce Babington, 2007, page 85

88 “Helen Martin and Sam Edwards, New Zealand Film, 1912-1996”, by Caroline Daley, http://www.jcu.edu.au/aff/history/reviews/martin_edwards.htm , 06.09.2011 , 12:21

89 vgl. “A History of the New Zealand feature film”, Bruce Babington, 2007, page 1

90 “A History of the New Zealand feature film”, Bruce Babington, 2007, page 5

91 vgl. “A History of the New Zealand feature film”, Bruce Babington, 2007, page 5-6

4.4 John O'Shea

John O'Shea is one of the most important film-makers in New Zealand history. Not only did he direct the only three feature film from 1940 to 1972 but he also established a place for young New Zealand film-makers to learn and grow in a time when people “who worked in films were considered mad, batty or just weird backyard celluloid tinkers with screwdrivers”⁹².

From an early age John was interested in films. His first close contact with films was when he skipped “Friday afternoon drill with school cadets and sneak off to the local 'pitcher' theatre”⁹³. He started working as an assistant the the censor and met Roger Mirams. Mirams was an ex-national film unit cameraman who started his own independent film company with another former national film unit worker Alun Falconer. In 1948 they founded the Pacific Film Unit. O'Shea joined them in 1950 when Alun Falconer went over to China to pursue his career over there. The same year they changed the name to Pacific Film Productions Ltd.. Seven years later Mirams left the the company as well to set up a company in Australia. From that time on Pacific Films came synonymous with John O'Shea.⁹⁴

Single-handedly John O'Shea kept the dream of a feature film industry in New Zealand alive. Co-producing and directing the first feature “*Broken Barriers*” (1952) with Mirams, the second one “*Runaway*” (1964) and the last out of the three “*Don't Let It Get You*” (1966) were made on his own. He “was well known for getting the most out of a shoestring budget”⁹⁵. The films will be discussed in more depth later on but they already showed what a “passionate advocate of both Pakeha and Maori identity”⁹⁶ he was. His films were about Maori and Pakeha struggle in the society. “*Broken Barriers*” is about a interracial love story between a Maori girl and a Pakeha boy, “for Maori/Pakeha relations was , he believed, the essential drama of this country”⁹⁷.

92 “John Dempsey O'Shea – A Tribute”, by Tony Williams, http://www.filmarchive.org.nz/archive_presents/pacificfilms/oshea_tw.html , 13.09.2011 , 15:22

93 “John Dempsey O'Shea – A Tribute”, by Jonathan Dennis, http://www.filmarchive.org.nz/archive_presents/pacificfilms/oshea_jd.html , 13.09.2011 , 15:21

94 “John Dempsey O'Shea – A Tribute”, author unknown, http://www.filmarchive.org.nz/archive_presents/pacificfilms/oshea_intro.html , 13.09.2011 , 15:25

95 “John O'Shea – Biography”, author unknown, <http://www.answers.com/topic/john-o-shea-director> , 13.09.2011 , 15:02

96 “A History of the New Zealand feature film” , Bruce Babington, 2007, page 85

97 “John Dempsey O'Shea – A Tribute”, by Jonathan Dennis, http://www.filmarchive.org.nz/archive_presents/pacificfilms/oshea_jd.html , 13.09.2011 , 15:21

Since feature film making in New Zealand was almost not practicable Pacific Films had to look for other ways to make money. They made road-safety movies and sponsored documentaries. Between 1956 and 1962 Pacific Films filmed every All Blacks test games in New Zealand. With the introduction of television in 1960 new possible incomes were available with commercials being the biggest one⁹⁸. Later in 1974 he produced the important television series "*Tangata Whenua*" (The People of the Land) which "opened the door for Maori to start telling their own stories on screen"⁹⁹.

Pacific films wasn't only a production company. It was a place where like-minded people, enthusiastic about film and eager to learn, came together and learned from John O'Shea. It "became a fertile training ground for young filmmakers"¹⁰⁰. People such as Gaylene Preston, Tony Williams, Jane Campion and Sam Neil were guided by John O'Shea and later becoming nationally and internationally famous. John helped creating a foundation of skilled film-makers which would once possible in the late century show that New Zealand directors and actors were able to compete with international others. Tony Williams remembers that "He simply longed for an industry that would have its own New Zealand voice"¹⁰¹ while Gaylene Preston recalls him as "a stubborn bloody-minded Irish pakaha visionary"¹⁰².



Image 5 – John O'Shea (right) and Tony Williams, Pacific Films Collection, NZFA

98 "John Dempsey O'Shea – A Tribute", author unknown, http://www.filmarchive.org.nz/archive_presents/pacificfilms/oshea_intro.html , 13.09.2011 , 15:25

99 "John Dempsey O'Shea – A Tribute", by Jonathan Dennis, http://www.filmarchive.org.nz/archive_presents/pacificfilms/oshea_jd.html ,Jonathan Dennis, 13.09.2011, 15:21

100 "John Dempsey O'Shea – A Tribute", author unknown, http://www.filmarchive.org.nz/archive_presents/pacificfilms/oshea_intro.html , 13.09.2011 , 15:25

101 "John Dempsey O'Shea – A Tribute", by Tony Williams, http://www.filmarchive.org.nz/archive_presents/pacificfilms/oshea_tw.html , 13.09.2011 , 15:22

102 "John Dempsey O'Shea – A Tribute", by Gaylene Preston, http://www.filmarchive.org.nz/archive_presents/pacificfilms/oshea_gp.html , 13.09.2011, 15:10

He always wanted to help Maori tell their own story. Even as a producer he wanted to work on films about Maori problems in today's society. In 1987 he fought for funding and eventually produced "*Ngati*" (1987) "the first feature to be written and directed by Maori"¹⁰³. He knew how important the Maori for New Zealand's history is and wanted to resemble this in the film industry, whether by making a film about Maori problems or by helping Maori tell their own stories. The last film he produced was "*Te Rua*" (1992) another testimony to his efforts of making Maori relevant films. The film is about "Maori claims for the return of precious taonga from foreign museums, and the direct action three young men undertake to recover tribal property"¹⁰⁴.

He was also active in bringing feature film-making back to New Zealand by being "founding member of the New Zealand Film Archive, the Wellington film society and the New Zealand Film Commission"¹⁰⁵. The New Zealand Film Commission was the first government agency funding feature films in their country. In 1990 he received an OBE (Order of the British Empire) for his efforts in New Zealand film and in 1992 he was awarded the "first Lifetime Achievement Award"¹⁰⁶. He died in 2001.

John O'Shea was not only a film-maker but "the father of New Zealand film"¹⁰⁷. He helped film through a time when New Zealand made films were almost not existing and the government still paid no interest in a feature film industry. He helped Maori get into film and carried their stories through his films. Without him many popular directors or actors would have not become as successful. Without him there probably would not be such a big film industry in New Zealand as it is now.

103 "John O'Shea Filmmaker – Biography", author unknown <http://www.nzonscreen.com/person/john-oshea/biography> , 13.09.2011 , 15:03

104 "John O'Shea and Pacific Films: Early Wellington Movies", by Brian Cross <http://briancross.suite101.com/john-oshea-and-pacific-films-early-wellington-movies-a248845> 13.09.2011,15:12

105 "John O'Shea Filmmaker – Biography", author unknown <http://www.nzonscreen.com/person/john-oshea/biography> , 13.09.2011 , 15:03

106 "John O'Shea and Pacific Films: Early Wellington Movies", by Brian Cross <http://briancross.suite101.com/john-oshea-and-pacific-films-early-wellington-movies-a248845> ,13.09.2011,15:12

107 "John Dempsey O'Shea – A Tribute", by Tony Williams, http://www.filmarchive.org.nz/archive_presents/pacificfilms/oshea_tw.html , 13.09.2011 , 15:22

4.5 A new start for feature films

After the long hard period film-makers had to endure, the industry took a step step up in production when the New Zealand Film Commission was established in 1978. After Roger Donaldson's film *"Sleeping Dogs"* in 1977 the government realised the need for a feature film funding agency. As blueprint for their funding, they used the Australian model which was established in 1970 over there. With the establishment of the Film Commission started a boom in production in New Zealand. Along other initiatives were big tax breaks. Those tax breaks, later refereed to as tax loopholes, where the major reason for the increase in production with a majority of overseas co-productions.¹⁰⁸

The main focus of the Film Commission was "To encourage and also participate and assist in the making, promotion, distribution and exhibition of films"¹⁰⁹ while it will only fund a film if it "has or is to have a significant New Zealand content"¹¹⁰. This doesn't only mean the subject of the film but also where the director and the crew come from, locations, at which will be shot, where the money comes from and where the equipment comes from. This is to make sure that only New Zealand films are funded.

Companies from all over the world, realised the the opportunities given in New Zealand, with most of the money for productions, in that time, coming from the private-sector. Even though the tax loophole was closed in 1982, films that were already been worked on, were allowed to continue under that scheme. This lead to over 40 films being made in between 1973 and 1985. Even though it was feared that the tax loophole would lead to an Americanization of New Zealand feature films, in hindsight, it put New Zealand back on the map in film-making. International directors and producers first attracted by the tax breaks, rediscovered New Zealand's values such as the magnificent landscape or the cheap technical skills available. Even though the loophole increased production the cost of most films still weren't nearly as high as films being made in America. Nearly half of the films made in this time were made with less than a million dollars (NZ\$). The most expensive film was *"Race for the Yankee Zephyr"* (1981), costing six million dollars and only because it had international famous actors and was aimed at other markets. So the low-budget patterns that are still used today were established early on.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁸ vgl. "THE NEW WAVE AND BEYOND", by Ian Conrich <http://www.filmreference.com/encyclopedia/Independent-Film-Road-Movies/New-Zealand-THE-NEW-WAVE-AND-BEYOND.html> , 14.09.2011 , 13:53

¹⁰⁹ New Zealand Film Commission Act 1978 , <http://www.legislation.govt.nz/act/public/1978/0061/6.0/DLM23015.html#DLM23015> , 22.11.2011, 14:15

¹¹⁰ New Zealand Film Commission Act 1978 , <http://www.legislation.govt.nz/act/public/1978/0061/6.0/DLM23018.html#DLM23018> , 22.11.2011 , 14:16

¹¹¹ vgl. "A History of the New Zealand feature film", Bruce Babington, 2007, page 114-115

The 80s were one of the most important, if not the most important, decade for New Zealand film-making. Regarding the last decades it was a decade with a huge amount of productions and international fame. Vincent Ward's was "the first New Zealander to win selection for the Cannes Film Festival"¹¹² with his film "*Vigil*" (1984). Directors like mentioned Roger Donaldson or Geoff Murphy went to America and became well known in Hollywood making feature films over there.

New Zealand film in the 80s was making allot of money by selling their films overseas. Therefore film festivals were the best way to show what became of New Zealand film. Films as successful as "*The Quiet Earth*" (1985, Geoff Murphy) or "*Smash Palace*" (1981, Roger Donaldson) were shown on television around the world.¹¹³

Also, the 80s were the century women in New Zealand started making films, with Melanie Read's "*Trial Run*" (1984) being "the first fiction feature directed solely by a woman"¹¹⁴. After that films directed by women like Gaylene Preston's "*Mr. Wrong*" (1985) and Yvonne MacKay's "*The Silent One*" (1984) emerged. It was a strong statement of a "conscious challenge to male dominance of the industry"¹¹⁵. Not only the directing personnel changed, but also subject matter and emphases. Women started telling their own stories instead of men telling stories about women as in films like "*Sylvia*" (1985, Michael Firth, about the novelist Sylvia Ashton-Warner) or "*Other Halves*" (1984, John Laing, an interracial romance)¹¹⁶.

The decade was the start, not only for women, but also for Maori to start making their own films. Feeling of being not authentic representative in films, they tried to make their own. The first Maori-directed feature film was "*Ngati*" (1987, Barry Barclay) followed by "*Mauri*" in 1988 by Merata Mita. Those films were the start to a successful history of making Maori-films. Today Maori get special funding from the government and have their own TV-channel¹¹⁷.

112 "THE NEW WAVE AND BEYOND", by Ian Conrich <http://www.filmreference.com/encyclopedia/Independent-Film-Road-Movies/New-Zealand-THE-NEW-WAVE-AND-BEYOND.html> , 14.09.2011 , 13:53 Uhr

113 vgl. "A History of the New Zealand feature film", Bruce Babington, 2007, page 115

114 "THE NEW WAVE AND BEYOND", by Ian Conrich <http://www.filmreference.com/encyclopedia/Independent-Film-Road-Movies/New-Zealand-THE-NEW-WAVE-AND-BEYOND.html> , 14.09.2011 , 13:53 Uhr

115 "A History of the New Zealand feature film", Bruce Babington, 2007, page 172

116 vgl. "A History of the New Zealand feature film", Bruce Babington, 2007, page 113 - 114

117 vgl. "A History of the New Zealand feature film", Bruce Babington, 2007, page 230 - 231

4.6 The present Day

Today New Zealand has a strong, important film industry. After the major increase of productions in the early 80s New Zealand has sustained small-scale productions with about 125 films being made in 20 years (1985-2005). The emergence of digital film, at the end of the millennium, made it even easier to produce small budget films. In the 90s complete films or television series were off-shore financed with *“Xena: Warriors Princess”* (1995-2001) and *“Hercules: The Legendary Journeys”* (1995-1999) being the most successful. After Peter Jacksons *“The Lord of the Rings”* - Trilogy (2001-2003) the amount of off-shore financed films being made in New Zealand saw another big increase with major blockbusters as *“The Last Samurai”* (2003, Edward Zwick) or *“The Lion, the Witch and The Wardrobe”* (Andrew Adamson, 2005).¹¹⁸

New Zealand-made films began to increasingly impress the world. After *“Vigil”* was the first at Cannes Film Festival in 1984, films such as *“Whale Rider”* (2003, Niki Caro) or *“Once were Warriors”* (1994, Lee Tamahori) became international known and critically acclaimed. Jane Campion's *“The Piano”* (1992) “went on to bring in three Academy Awards – the first New Zealand film to be so honoured”¹¹⁹. Actors like Cliff Curtis, Karl Urban, Lucy Lawless and Anna Paquin emerged from the New Zealand film to gain Hollywood fame.

New Zealand has a feature film history marked by different periods of inactivity and high activity. It is remarkable that it had become such a big name in the film world regarding its population only being close to 4,5 million.¹²⁰ Even though the government has only started paying interest in feature film making thirty years ago it was able to sustain a compatible, reliable, skilful industry. The future looks even brighter with more major blockbusters being made in New Zealand and more New Zealand film-makers emerging.

¹¹⁸ vgl. “A History of the New Zealand feature film”, Bruce Babington, 2007, page 184 - 185

¹¹⁹ “Film Industry History”, author unknown, <http://www.filmnz.com/introducing-nz/film-industry-history.html> , 6.09.2011 , 12:15

¹²⁰ “Estimated resident population of New Zealand”, author unknown http://www.stats.govt.nz/tools_and_services/tools/population_clock.aspx , 15.09.2011 , 15:51

5 Maori in Pakeha films

When film came to New Zealand, at the turn of the century, Maori had bigger problems than to get involved into film. So it was natural that up until the first Maori directed film, Pakeha had to create an image of the Maori for the rest of the world to see. From Georg Tarr's "*Himeona*" (1914) and other early New Zealand films up until more recent films such as "*Utu*" (1983, Geoff Murphy) Pakeha have established a distinguished image of Maori.

The definition of an image is the "out of emotional and objective pieces constructed image of a person, object, event, organisation etc., which exists through own and external informations and perceptions".¹²¹

Given this definition, certain aspects have to be considered when looking into the image of Maori in New Zealand feature film. An image doesn't only consists of facts but on emotions. So when films are being discussed from different periods in time we have to keep in mind what Maori went through at that time and how Pakeha felt about it. Under this definition films are certainly external emotional perceptions since film only shows a certain image of Maori and the audience has no choice but to inherit this perception and combine it with their own perception of Maori.

In this chapter, films throughout New Zealand film history will be looked at to find overall Maori images. The differences between Maori men, Maori women and Maori children images will be discussed so that in the end the major Maori images will be given.

¹²¹ <http://www.opus-bayern.de/bib-info/volltexte/2005/41/pdf/Vortrag%20Image%202005.pdf> , Meinhard Motzko , Folie zum Vortrag „Image: Wie es sich bildet und wie es gemessen werden kann“ , 09.11.2011 , 12:55

5.1 Warrior image – male Maori images

The most common image Maori men had in the early days of New Zealand is the warrior image. It is easy to understand where this image comes from. Even at the start of the 20th century Maori were still living with their tribes and only a few were living in the cities. Since the early film-makers were all settlers or film-makers from other countries exploring New Zealand, they wanted to show New Zealand's native side. The only real difference to other countries was the Maori. The first stories were often telling a Maori tale as in "Himeona" or were taking place during confrontations between Maori and Pakeha but also Maori against Maori. Therefore the warrior image was not so much a new created or exaggeration of Maori lifestyle but merely a role needed to be played in those stories. But even though Maori were proud warriors, the image started to change and character traits were added. The Maori warrior became a violent person who seeks solutions only in combat and who despises the peaceful path. Success only comes with strength. The image of the Maori warrior who only knows how to fight is still present in later films of the century with the warrior facing problems in a new society.

5.1.1 The Devil's Pit (1929)

Also known as "Under the southern cross" is an early example of the warrior image used in New Zealand film. The film tells the story of two tribes, the Ariki and Watee, engaged in war andutu for centuries. Chief Pakura offers his daughter to the rival Watee Prince, Patiti in hope of ending the war. To win her hand Patiti first has to win the "Contest of Spears" against Ariki warrior Rangi.

It's a simple image of warriors competing for success and to some degree love. The warriors have fought for centuries and to end this war they will fight again. The only solution those warriors have is the same reason for their problem in the first place, fighting. Instead of trying to walk the peaceful path, they choose to embrace their violent past to bring an end to the war. This film shows how early film-makers saw the Maori. They used Maori as warriors, on one hand because they were natural warriors and on the other hand, because that was what the audience in other countries wanted to see. Another reason is that nobody thought about shooting a normal story with a Maori cast. So the only roles that Maori really got were those of Maori warriors.

5.1.2 Rewi's Last Stand (1940)

“Rewi's Last Stand” tells the story of the battle of Orakau during the New Zealand land wars, where Rewi and 300 Maori resisted over 2000 imperial soldiers during a three day siege. The central story evolves around Pakeha settler Robert Beaumont who falls in love with Maori Ariana. Although Ariana falls in love with Robert Beaumont she is held back by her Maori responsibility to defend the pa.¹²²

“Rewi's Last Stand” show the Maori warrior at the time of battle. They defend their pa against the imperial troops to save their tribe and their land. But this film already shows the demeaning attitude of the film-maker. The Maori in this film don't care for finding a solution any other than confrontation. When Ariana wants to leave the tribe for her love interest, the Maori make her stay so the only way for Robert Beaumont to get to her is through battle. Even though the warrior are shown as proud men defending their land the audience gets the feeling that it would have been smarter to negotiate with the troops and find a compromise. One might argue that during the land wars, negotiating was not realistic and that Hayward only shows that there was no other way for the Maori, it gets obvious that Maori are the antagonists. The white settler wants to be with the exotic beauty Ariana, another typical image discussed later, and get her away from the natives who are in the way of their love and a better future for all of New Zealand.



Image 6: Film-poster of Rewi's Last Stand

The poster of the film already depicts the warrior image. It shows Beaumont on the left side fighting two Maori warriors. The woman in the back is Ariana who Beaumont is fighting for. Interesting is that she is dressed in colonial clothes, indicating that she wants to be more like the European settlers, supporting the idea that Maori are the in-

122 vgl. “A History of the New Zealand feature film”, Bruce Babington, 2007, page 76

ferior race. Only the European settler Beaumont finds love in this film. Only he can achieve his goal. In contrast to him the wild, violent warriors find defeat.

5.1.3 Utu (1983)

“Utu” was directed by Geoff Murphy and was critically acclaimed throughout the world with screenings at Cannes Film festival. The story centres on Maori chief Te Wheke and is set in the 1870s. Te Wheke is an ally to the British troops but when his village is destroyed by the British troops he becomes a rebel and swears revenge.



Image 7 – Utu film poster from the Cannes film festival in 1983

Even though this film is made only 3 decades ago it still shows the image of a violent Maori warrior. Te Wheke was a British ally but after his relatives are killed he goes back to his native ways. He gets a moko (facial tattoo) and starts with his rebellion. In his search for utu, Te Wheke becomes more and more violent, killing Pakeha randomly. His bloodlust increases as he leads his rebellion through the country and “resorts to murder in responding to murder”¹²³. Even though Te Wheke is the main character and audience feels for him, since the British troops killed his relatives, Te Wheke becomes more violently. He pretty much kills every Pakeha he meets on the way. At the beginning of the film when Te Wheke sees the destroyed village he starts speaking in te reo and says that he has to kill all white men because the spirits of his people command him. He becomes a stereotypical Maori warrior. He is lead by utu against every white men that came to his country. He makes no exceptions and sees them all as one. The only way he engages his problems is by fighting. He kills farmers and robs ammuni-

123 “Utu, New Zealand Western”, by Lawrence Van Gelder, New York Times, September 13, 1984,

tions and supplies from settlers. In the end of the film Te Wheke is going to be executed, showing that the way of the warrior leads to nothing but death.

These three films are only a few examples of the warrior image that hangs on to Maori men. Throughout the century a vast number of films showed the Maori men as violent warrior fighting either each other or Pakeha. The combination of a Maori warrior with a weapon is therefore a picture branded into the minds of the audience¹²⁴. Other examples of Maori warriors are "*Kingpin*" (1984, Mike Walker) in which the warrior fights with a native taiaha, "*Pictures*" (1981, Michael Black), "*Never Say Die*" (1988, Geoff Murphy)¹²⁵ or "*The Te Kooti Trail*" (1927, Rudall Hayward) about Moari rebel leader Te Kooti during the land wars.

5.2 Clown, Thief and Drunk – minor male Maori images

Although the warrior image is the major male Maori image in New Zealand film. Other images are also associated with Maori men. One of them is the clown image shown from "*The Devil's Pit*" (1929, Lew Collins) when a fat warrior can't find his way on White Island up to Tanui Kid in "*Came a hot Friday*" (1984, Ian Mune). The image of the drunk Maori is also often used. In "*Sleeping Dogs*" (1977, Roger Donaldson) a Maori is selling a whole island to an old man for a bottle of whiskey. In a lot of films the image of the drunken Maori causes them to get into problems with the law as in Mike Walker's trilogy "*King's Story*" (1982), "*Kingpin*" (1984) and "*Mark II*" (1987). Another example is "*Once were warriors*" in which Jake "the Muss" Hete is getting drunk at the pub countless times just to get into fights. It even leads to domestic violence at home. Whenever a Maori is shown working, he is always working a lower class occupation. In "*Middle Aged Spread*" (1979, John Reid) the Maori cleans the street, in "*Mark II*" he works in a factory or in "*Broken Barrier*" (1952, Roger Mirams, John O'Shea) when the Maori Johnny works in the forestry industry¹²⁶.

124 vgl. "Maori und Gesellschaft", Hartmut Jäcksch, Mana-Verlag, 2007, pages 96 - 97

125 vgl. "Maori und Gesellschaft", Hartmut Jäcksch, Mana-Verlag, 2007, page 101

126 vgl. "Maori und Gesellschaft", Hartmut Jäcksch, Mana-Verlag, 2007, page 100

5.2.1 Broken Barrier (1952)

“Broken Barrier” is one of those three feature films made in New Zealand between 1940 and 1972. It is a prime example for film-makers adapting current circumstances into their films. During the 1950s Maori were moving to the cities in huge numbers, while racism towards Maori was still widely existing.

The story centres on Tom, a young journalist who is ordered to write an article on living with Maori. In order to do so he stays at an East Coast Maori farming community. That is when he meets Rawi, a Maori girl, and eventually sleeps with her. To test him Rawi invites him to a hui (meeting) where he reacts quite badly. Since Rawi normally works at a Wellington hospital she goes back there and Tom follows her. However Tom's parents are racist towards Rawi and she eventually ends the relationship. Tom goes to the Kaingaroa forest where he meets Johnny a Maori worker. He advises him to go back to Rawi. Shortly after, Johnny saves Tom's life in a fire but dies himself. Tom goes back to Rawi's village where she works as a nurse now and they reunite¹²⁷.

For one, this film shows Maori leaving their village to move to the city. Not only Rawi but also Johnny left their homes to work in a Pakeha society. Both are trying to achieve a better life for themselves and their family. However Johnny dies and is not able to do so. To some degree this indicates that the Maori dream of a better life is not possible. Rawi learns in the Pakeha society and goes back to her family with her Pakeha-skills of nursing, a sign that Maori are only able to evolve with the help of Pakeha society. The portrait of Maori in this film is not as bad as in other films, the major criticism in this film is towards Pakeha and their racism towards Maori. First Tom himself behaves inappropriately at the hui, leading to the first break of their relationship. Then his parents act out racism towards Rawi because they don't want their son to marry a Maori which leads to another big break in their relationship. It is quite unique that Johnny, a Maori, helps Tom to realise that he wants to be with Rawi no matter what people say. So in that perspective *“Broken Barrier”* has a positive advice for the future of New Zealand. Only when race doesn't matter anymore, both Maori and Pakeha can live peacefully with each other, be it in the cities or in rural communities.

127 vgl. “A History of the New Zealand feature film”, Bruce Babington, 2007, page 91

5.3 Exotic Beauty – female Maori images

While Maori men were mostly shown as strong warriors with naïve understanding of the world, driven by revenge, lust or other instincts, women were mostly shown as exotic beauty. At the beginning of film in New Zealand foreign film-makers were trying to give the audience back home a vision of a native paradise filled with battling warriors and exotic, gorgeous women waiting for their men to come back home. Especially the male audience in the world and their sexual instincts were being catered for. Without their men, the women in those films, were insignificant for a woman is only a woman when she serves her man. Especially in early films that were telling Maori legends or showed Maori life during and before the first settlers landed, those beliefs were obvious¹²⁸.

5.3.1 The Devil's Pit (1929)

As mentioned before *“The Devil's Pit”* tells the story of two rival tribes. Chief Pakura of the Akiri tribe offers Patiti, prince of the rival tribe, his daughter Miro if he can defeat their warrior Rangi in a battle.

Miro is a typical depiction of what was thought of a Maori woman at that time. She doesn't have any right to choose whether she wants to live with Patiti or not. She is just a price to be won. To some degree she is the key to an inter-tribal peace, but foremost she is a priced possession. Patiti and Rangi battle for her while she looks good and stands in the background waiting for her fate to be decided. Miro doesn't try to change her situation but accepts her role. In the end she just wants to know who she is gonna cater for from now on. Even though one could argue that in reality Maori women were having less rights than men, this image is not only seen in films of Maori life before settlers arrived, but also throughout century in various other films.

128 vgl. “Maori und Gesellschaft”, Hartmut Jäcksch, Mana-Verlag, 2007, page 97 - 99

5.3.2 Hinemoa (1914)

Georgg Tarr's "*Hinemoa*" is not only the first feature film made by a New Zealander but it is fully lost with no moving images surviving. Only a film poster (image 8) survived until today. It was advertised as "the first photo-play produced in New Zealand by entirely local enterprises"¹²⁹ and as being authentic of place and actors¹³⁰.

The story is an old Maori legend about Hinemoa and her lover Tutanekai. Hinemoa lives in Rotorua with her tribe while Tutanekai is from a different tribe of the Mokoia island in the middle of lake Rotorua. Because Tutanekai is of a low status within the tribe he can't approach Hinemoa. Also, her father doesn't let anyone too close to her daughter. During a couple friendly hui (meeting) between the tribe, both fall in love even though they know they can't be together. From then Hinemoa goes to the lake at night where she can hear Tutanekai mesmerise her with his flute. One night Hinemoa can't take it any more and swims to Mokoia island where the two lover meet again.



Image 8 - Hera Tawhai Rogers as Hinemoa. Advertising publicity, Stills Collection, NZFA

The image above, which was used to advertise Tarr's film, shows Hinemoa starring over Lake Rotorua longing for her lover Tutanekai. Even though she is not shown bare-chested which was common for early depictions of Maori woman, she is quiet similar to other Maori women in early New Zealand film. Hinemoa is longing to be at the side of a man. Without a man she is nothing and since her father wont allow her to marry Tutanekai she feels as though she is not a whole woman. Even though she is the one taking action, swimming across the lake, risking herself, it only shows that Hinemoa wanted a man by her side more than Tutanekai was willing to sacrifice for her. He nev-

¹²⁹ "A History of the New Zealand feature film", Bruce Babington, 2007, page 47

¹³⁰ vgl. "A History of the New Zealand feature film", Bruce Babington, 2007, page 46 -47

er tried to come close to Hinemoa, abiding the tribal law. To some degree Hinemoa is different to other stereotypical women in New Zealand film. She doesn't just stand by while her faith is decided for her but tries to change it. Furthermore she acts against tribal law by leaving her home to swim over to a different tribe. So in that perspective she is quite a modern woman. Nonetheless she only violates tribal law to take her place in Maori society, next to a man, catering him. Another depiction of a woman in "*Hinemoa*" is when Tutanekai's friend Tiki is awarded Tutanekai's sister. She fulfils the common image of the Maori women, being given to any man. All Tiki did was help Hinemoa and Tutanekai to meet after Hinemoa landed at Mokoia Island. Still, he is awarded a woman. So although the film draws a somewhat modern picture of Maori women with its depiction of Hinemoa, all other women are still shown as exotic beauties with no rights, with their only task to please the men.

5.3.3 Hei Tiki (1935)

"*Hei Tiki*" is another story of pre-European Maori life. The film is about two lovers from different tribes, Manui, warrior of one tribe and Mara of the other one. Mara's father wants to keep Mara a virgin since she is promised to the war god who in return would give his tribe huge power. Manui is sent by his father on a reconnaissance mission. On that mission he falls in love with Mara and they have sex. In the end a big battle between the tribes seems to bring doom over everyone, but when Mara's father finds out that she isn't a virgin any more he leaves them be as their union brings peace to both tribes and makes them even stronger.¹³¹

Two female Maori images are shown in this film. First of all Mara who is different to Hinemoa since she accepts her faith until she is getting rescued by Manui. Manui, the warrior has to rescue Mara showing her dependency. She would willingly sacrifice herself to the war god in order to help her tribe and obey her father's wishes. Only when she sees the opportunity to be with Manui as wife and husband she is willing to go with him and flee from her own tribe. The second image shown in this film. Is the one of Tera, an older woman is supposed to guard Mara. She is the one telling Manui about a secret passageway from the village into the woods which enables him to find Mara. This image drawn is the one of a woman that is easy to trick and is loose with her mouth. She is supposed to guard Mara but is the reason for her to be able to flee. It is

131 vgl. "A History of the New Zealand feature film", Bruce Babington, 2007, page 39 -41

interesting that she occupies a job normally occupied by men. She is a bad guard indicating that women shouldn't try their selves in men professions as it leads to trouble.

The certain image of Maori women in New Zealand film has been dominant throughout its history. But not only early films show Maori female as beautiful, naïve women with little rights who find their fulfilment in catering for a men. Even in *"Utu"*, quiet a new film, this image can be seen when a Maori beauty uses her looks to seduce a police-officer in order to help Te Wheke and his rebels. It is interesting that apart from that scene, she doesn't really help the rebels. Her only purpose is her looks that men are drawn to. This supports the image from earlier films that Maori women have nothing except their outer appearance and they were accounted for nothing else.

In Lynton Butler's *"Pallet on the floor"* (1986) the image of the exotic Beauty is taken a step further since the whole film is about men trying to win over the Maori Sue by any means necessary. Even though other Pakeha women live in this town, Sue is the most beautiful. Even though Sue made up her mind and choose her lover Sam on her own, other men in the city try come close to Sue. This results in an attempted rape of Sue by Jack who always held a grudge against Sue and Sam's relationship as he sees himself next to Sue. The attempted rape shows that Maori women were considered available to men no matter who. Even though the rape was unsuccessful it still shows how little Maori women and their will were considered. One may argue that the rape and the story itself is just another story of love and jealousy but the director chose to make Sue a Maori. She is the only Maori appearing in the film and her role is that of a good looking women every men desires to have.

Even though *"Broken Barrier"* is to some degree an exception to the image, since Rawi is working as a nurse, traces of this deep rooted image is also seen. Rawi is quiet independent working a well regarded job for a women. She is intelligent, caring and makes her own decisions. But in the end she finds her fulfilment when she is reunited with Tom, making her just another Maori wife. Another character supporting this image is Rawi's mother when she says: "I always told Rawi, that this is a Pakeha world and she has to learn to live in this world."¹³² It supports the idea that Maori see the Pakeha as superior race and know that they are second class citizens. Rawi's mother has resigned and gives in to society making her less valuable. She think she knows her place in society and tries to teach Rawi the same. To give in to her faith and become someones wife and fulfill the expectations given to her as a Maori. In the end she follows her mother wish by going back to her village and reuniting with Tom¹³³.

¹³² Dialogue in *"Broken Barrier"*, directed by John O'Shea, 1953

¹³³ vgl. *"Maori und Gesellschaft"*, Hartmut Jäcksch, Mana-Verlag, 2007, page 97 - 99

5.4 Maori children – can you find one

After looking at the images drawn of Maori men and women, it is valuable to understand how unimportant Maori children were for early film-makers in New Zealand. Maori kids are hardly ever shown in early films, for them were considered irrelevant. The only reason for children to be in the shot was pure coincidence. Since back in those days films were mostly shot on scene where Maori lived, children were bound to walk around the village. The other reason for them being in films was to underline parent images of Maori. Later in the century, when Maori were being integrated better and Maori started to go to Pakeha schools and to move to the cities, children were used to show what difficulties Maori had to adapt to their new life. In the autobiographic film *“Sylvia”* (1984, Michael Firth) the Pakeha teacher helps Maori children to adapt to the Pakeha way of life. Without the help of their white teacher, Maori children had no chance to make it in New Zealand Pakeha society. Another reason for Maori children to be seen is that her appearance helps the plot. In *“Utu”* a little girl is killed while she looks for food, making way for Te Wheke and his rebels to avenge her death. It is quiet remarkable that most Pakeha directors didn't show any Maori kids, for children being the future of their race. Even though it might be far fetched, all those films without Maori kids point to the extinction of the Maori race¹³⁴.

134 vgl. *“Maori und Gesellschaft”*, Hartmut Jäcksch, Mana-Verlag, 2007, page 99 - 100

6 Maori images in Maori films

“Imagine a whole culture not to be able to talk about your own land in your own way. Imagine if you were born in London or Copenhagen, and the only – and I mean only – images of yourself were scripted and shot by people from Algeria or Tamil Nadu and transmitted simply to capture good ratings among their own viewers.”¹³⁵

Barry Barclay, director of the first Maori-directed film “Ngati!” (1987), sums up all the problems Maori had with Pakeha films in this quote. Up until then, Maori felt misrepresented by most Pakeha films. Maori were made into violent warriors, illiterate drunks or exotic beauties longing for a men to serve. Most of these images only created to please the mostly white audience in New Zealand and around the world. The call for self-representation was strong. So when Barclay’s “Ngati” hit cinemas, shortly followed by Merata Mita’s “Mauri” (1988), a new generation of Maori, using feature film to express themselves, emerged.¹³⁶

Merata Mita was one of the most important figures in Maori film making. Already, when working as a teacher, she realised what kind of power images had to reach people with no other way of communication. In 1977, she started working on her first documentary following a number of successful documentaries about Maori life, including “Bastion Point: Day 507” (1980) about the last day of the Bastion Point occupation. That’s when she started “to grow disenchanted at Māori misrepresentation on film, and at how Māori seemed to be employed only to liaise with Māori communities for white filmmakers”¹³⁷. In 1988, she was the first Maori woman to direct a film. Just like John O’Shea, Merata Mita offered young Maori a place to grow while working on film. Throughout her career, until her death in 2010, she tried to portrait Maori in a different way than Pakeha had done. She wanted to show Maori from a Maori perspective.¹³⁸

The following examples of Maori-made films will lead to a comparison between the images created in those films and the images created in Pakeha-films.

¹³⁵ “Among Landscapes”, Barry Barclay, in “Film in Aotearoa, New Zealand”, Jonathan Dennis, Jan Bieringa, 1996

¹³⁶ vgl. “A History of the New Zealand feature film”, Bruce Babington, 2007, page 230

¹³⁷ Merata Mita Biography , author unknown, <http://www.nzonscreen.com/person/merata-mita/biography> , 14.11.2011 , 16:42

¹³⁸ vgl. Merata Mita Biography , author unknown, <http://www.nzonscreen.com/person/merata-mita/biography> , 14.11.2011 , 16:42

6.1 Mauri (1988)

“Mauri” is set in the 1950s when Maori movement to the city was at a peak. The story evolves around a Maori, his real name unknown, who moved to the city years before and finds nothing but trouble with the Pakeha law. He finds himself fleeing from a robbery when he picks up a Maori hitchhiker. In a car crash the hitchhiker, Rewi Rapana dies, thus him taking on the hitchhikers identity becoming Rewi Rapana. After pushing the car, with the dead body inside, off a cliff Rewi goes to the hitchhikers village where nobody notices that he's not the real Rewi. At the village he meets his surrogate mother Kara and girlfriend Ramiri. Haunted by guilt and the police closing in he confesses his crimes to Kara only. Ramiri eventually gives up on Rewi and marries someone else. In the end Kara dies, Rewi gets captured and Ramiri, although married to Steve Semmens, bares Rewis child.¹³⁹

“Mauri” tries to establish new images for Maori. Even though the protagonist is shown as violent and short-tempered at the beginning of the movie, he starts to change. It is more the city that made him act the way he did. The hard life for a Maori in a Pakeha city, with no or poorly paid jobs, made him become criminal. This short part of the movie is led behind when he takes Rewis identity. In the rural community he becomes calmer and eventually finds personal redemption. This image drawn of a Maori man is strongly different from Pakeha-made films. Instead of fighting violence with more violence, Mita draws a picture of a Maori man tired of acting violently, trying to settle down in an iwi surrounding. He knows that he has done something wrong and is haunted by fear and guilt, emotions Maori warrior in earlier films didn't show. Ramiri though is still close to the images created by Pakeha directors. She wants to get married to Rewi and cater for him. In the end, after Rewi constantly pushes her away, she decides to marry Steve Semmens. Even though he is not her true love, she settles for him making her a typical Maori women, shown in other films, whose ultimate goal is marriage. “Mauri” is full of little scenes, indicating Mitas animosity towards Pakeha-made images. In one scene Steve Semmens meets a fellow Pakeha who uses binoculars to watch Ramiri while she's in the river. When he tells Steve that she took off all her clothes, even he watches her from afar. This shows how Mita felt about the way Maori were looked at through non-Maori-directed films. Just like he watches this naked woman in the river, the audience watches images of Maori in films. Quiet interesting that Steve watches an “exotic beauty” in the river, the same image created by Pakeha directors.

139 vgl. “A History of the New Zealand feature film”, Bruce Babington, 2007, page 233 - 234

6.2 Once Were Warriors (1994)

“Once Were Warriors” is the adaptation of Alan Duffs correspondent novel. It was the first film to gross more than 6 million dollars in New Zealand and gained large international claim¹⁴⁰. The story centres Jake “the Muss” (the muscle) Heke and his family in South Auckland, one of the poorest, most crime-ridden areas in New Zealand. Together with his wife Beth they got six kids. Jake and Beth are both unemployed and fill their lives with drinking at the pub. Jake is known for drinking too much and starting fights at the bar. Beth tries to keep the family together through violence and poverty. However her son, “Boogie” has been taken to a borstal because of minor crimes and starts learning the old ways of the Maori. The oldest son, Nig, leaves the family after a fight with Jake and joins a gang. Throughout the story we see Jake getting drunk, not being able to control his anger even towards Beth. During a party at their house, one of Jake’s mates rapes Jake’s daughter, Grace, who eventually kills herself following the rape. The film ends with Beth leaving Jake and Jake finding out that his mate raped his daughter.

“To demoralise, to undermine Maori confidence... is the primary objective of *Once Were Warriors* – both book and film.”¹⁴¹ Alan Duff’s novel as the film, were often criticised by Maori for a drawing such a violent, dark picture of Maori life in modern society. But in reality the situation for Maori in the cities, was far from being perfect. Most Maori were still illiterate, especially the older ones, and work was getting harder to come by. Pared with a high birth rate, a lot of Maori families were struggling. The images created in this film are very different to Maori seen in *Pakeha* films. Jake “the Muss” is a proud Maori. He spends his day at the pub and when the pub closes down they go to his house to keep drinking. He doesn’t have a job and when drunk he gets short-tempered and starts to pick fights. Even though those character traits are quite similar to older images Jake is not a typical warrior. Beth sums it up when she tells him that he is a warrior with nothing to fight for. Jake still wants to fight to improve his life. Just like the old days when Maori were fighting over land, food etc. Jake wants the old times back, the time when he grew up. So in one way he wants to be that stereotypical Maori warrior. But given his surroundings and society he lives in he can’t be that. Another difference is the domestic violence shown by Jake. When Beth doesn’t want to cook Jake’s mate some eggs, he gets furious and starts beating her, followed by forcing her to sleep with him. In

140 vgl. “A History of the New Zealand feature film”, Bruce Babington, 2007, page 237

141 “A History of the New Zealand feature film”, Bruce Babington, 2007, page 230, Apirana Taylor, “Alan Duff the writer and his Film”, Te Maori News, 24 February 1994

the typical older images a warrior was never seen harming his wife. It was always the enemy, most of the times Pakeha, he fought. During the day though, when he isn't drunk yet, Jake cares about his family. He loves his family, as you can see when he finds out who raped his daughter. In one way he knows he is harming his family but always makes the wrong decisions leading to more pain for his family. In one scene the whole family is about to visit "Boogie" at the borstal and it seems like a peaceful day for the family. They all sing together in the car, the sun is shining and the family is together. That's when Jake decides to stop by the pub to have one beer, which leads to him staying at the pub getting drunk while the family can't go see "Boogie".



Image 9 – Jake "the Muss" just about to hit someone with a chair in a pub-fight

While Jake still own character traits of Maori images shown in films such as "Rewis Last Stand", Beth image is totally different from a exotic beauty. Beth is a normal woman, not necessarily good looking, trying to keep her family together. Even though she enjoys drinking and partying with their friends as well, she realises that family has to come first. She saves the money she would use to buy alcohol to treat her family. She loves Jake and wants to stay with him, but realises that Jake wont change and the only solution is to leave him as he destroys the family. Her heritage as Maori is important as she tries to find peace in her culture but the struggle she has to endure is not Maori-specific. Nig, in search for love he doesn't receive at home, joins a gang but realises that they can't give him the affection and support he longs for. He is a young adult trying looking for a family. He doesn't want to fight as he has seen what Jakes violence lead to. So in that perspective he also quiet different from the stereotypical Maori warrior as he lets go of his anger and tries to find another way to solve his problems than violence.

6.3 Boy (2010)

“Boy” is a recently released comedy by academy award nominee Taika Waititi. The story is set in 1984 and evolves around Boy, an 11 year-old, living with his grandma and brother Rocky in a small community in Waihau Bay. When his grandma has to leave for a week, Boys father Alamein shows up after fleeing from prison. Settling down in the community Boy tries to please his dad in any way he can. Throughout the film Boy tells stories of his heroic father but has to realise that those stories were all lies and his father is not as he had imagined. It gets obvious that Alamein just wants to find the bag of money he buried years ago. In the end Boy stands up to his dad and Alamein leaves¹⁴².

Even though its a comedy “Boy” has a serious undertone. The story is about a new generation of Maori trying to avoid the mistakes their parent have made. At the beginning of the film Boy looks up to his dad and tries to follow in his footsteps. “Because Boy lacks a stable leader in the adult world”¹⁴³ he tries so hard to get closer to his dad. But he comes to realise that Alameins promises are just empty words and his stories are lies. He stands up to him and rises above him, in one way leaving the old Maori image behind him. While Alamein is to some degree a typical Maori, Boy grows to be different. Alamein drinks with his gang “The Crazy Horses”, gets into fights and steals. Boy sees all of that and changes his view of his father. Even though its all under the cover of a comedy film, Boys problems and his final clash with Alamein touches the audience. Boy stands for a new generation of Maori, trying to live their life in a different way than the last one. It gets quiet obvious when a count in class makes obvious that most of the dads are in jail. One of Boys classmates even reminds him, that both of their parents are in the same prison block. Another big differences to early movies is the use of a Maori child as the main character while older films left the Maori children completely out to please audiences overseas. To some degree this movies draws a new image of Maori, pushing aside the old one.

142 “Waititi’s Remarkably Insightful “Boy” Succeeds On Many Levels”, by Eric Kohn, January 23rd, 2010, http://www.indiewire.com/article/review_waitis_remarkably_insightful_boy_succeeds_on_many_levels , 23.11.2011

143 “Waititi’s Remarkably Insightful “Boy” Succeeds On Many Levels”, by Eric Kohn, January 23rd, 2010, http://www.indiewire.com/article/review_waitis_remarkably_insightful_boy_succeeds_on_many_levels , 23.11.2011

As seen the difference between Maori images in Pakeha-made films and Maori films are quite different. During the the first period of film-making in New Zealand until 1940 the target audience was overseas audiences who knew little about New Zealand and its native people. Film-makers were not looking to create a realistic view of Maori but made them more appealing to the audience. Maori men became fearless warriors and the woman became desirable, indigenous women. The reality of Maori life, their strong community and the struggle they had to go through at that time were not appealing enough.

After three decades of almost not-existing feature film making, the situation for Maori already had changed. Maori had left their rural communities and moved into the city which gave way to new images created by Pakeha. Although the warrior image was still seen in films such as *“Utu”*, film-makers started to try and bring a new side of Maori life on screen. That's when Maori were often shown as drunks and thieves. Although they tried to show what reality looked like, their images were quite patronizing.

So when Maori finally started making their own films, those coherent images created by Pakeha were already burned into peoples minds. In the following years, a change of images in New Zealand cinemas was seen though. Maori started showing their own version of Maori life while Pakeha directors started to look somewhere else than Maori life for their stories. Especially since New Zealand film has grown so big that Hollywood blockbusters are being shot and produced in New Zealand. It seems as though Pakeha directors had left the Maori to tell their stories. Even though films from Pakeha such as *“The Piano”* (1992, Jane Campion) still contains Maori, the main focus lays somewhere else. In Jane Campions film for example, the main character is a deaf women coming to New Zealand as one of the earliest settlers. Maori, especially Harvey Keitel as George Baines, are important to the story as it is set during that time but the main focus is on her struggle to adapt to a new country and her relationship with her arranged husband.

Compared to typical stereotypes of Maori males, Maori made films have created new images and evolved the existent ones. The warrior image still exists in films but has been altered. The warrior is not blind of anger and longs after revenge. As seen in *"Once Were Warrior"*, the warrior of today has got to connect his warrior past with his urban life. The problem he faces are not confrontation with other tribes to win a women but to provide for his family and his inability to do so. Their character is deeper and more layered than warriors in Pakeha films. While Maori were often shown as drunk and violent now its more a need to deal with ones life. They don't drink ans steal because they want to but rather because they have to, to forget about their struggle. Jake "the Muss" drinks because when he's not sober he has to deal with the poverty and unwell being of his family. They are still drinking and are violent but the reason for their behaviour is now shown compared to earlier films when Maori were just drinking and fighting for the heck of it.

The same happened to Maori female images. In Maori-made films the woman are not just good-looking women without their own decisions waiting for marriage so she can cater for her husband. Now Maori women are shown as strong, individual women. As said Beth is a perfect example of a new Maori image. She cares for her family and wants to keep them all together, even Jake. But she realises more and more that this is not the kind of community she wants live in and leaves Jake. Even though she is illiterate, she has morals and follows them. Of course you will still see beautiful Maori women in films, but that mostly because of the need to show the audience good looking actors. Maori wome such as the grandma in *"Boy"* or *"Mauri"* are shown as wise and loveable. They have seen a lot in their lives and grew wisdom. They lead the protagonist to their personal redemption.

Another big difference is that Maori children are being used as main characters and shown at all in New Zealand films. While Pakeha directors always avoided to show Maori kids, Maori directors use Maori children to show a new generation of Maori. Not only Boy is shown rejecting the old ways of his father but also Nig learns from the mistake made by his dad. Maori kids are shown as the future of a race that had struggles in the past but looks to revive their culture while living in a bi-cultural society.

7 Conducted Survey

While writing this paper a survey was conducted in New Zealand to investigate the effect of Maori images on normal New Zealanders. Although by the time of writing this chapter only 21 people replied with their finished survey it gives at least an indication to which extend those images are known to the people and how it influences them. Apart from one exception, all people were young New Zealand adults between 21 and 28 years. This age span was chosen since they are the most frequent cinema goers and are generally more involved in Media.

The first two questions were about the last New Zealand film they saw and the last film that included a Maori character, not actor. 16 people said the last New Zealand film they saw was "Boy". Since "Boy" was released almost two years ago, this question shows that the New Zealand youth is not watching allot of New Zealand made films. Since "Boy", a number of New Zealand films were released, but mostly with small audiences that watches them. "Matariki" (2010) by Michael Bennett, for example, was a highly acclaimed film that was shown at the Toronto Film festival, but only a few people in New Zealand went and saw it. The second question about the last film they saw with a Maori character in it, was obviously dominated by "Boy" as well. It is quiet remarkable that even though New Zealand produces a lot of good films every year, the audience in New Zealand is more attracted by big Hollywood blockbusters and big name actors.

The third question was to name a Maori image/stereotype they knew from New Zealand films. Almost 25% named Jake "the Muss" from "Once Were Warriors" as known stereotype. The rest of the answers were all negative stereotypes such as thieves, wifebeaters or drunks. Only one person said that these images show a family-oriented Maori. This is already a strong indication that the early images of drunk, violent Maori is still in the mind of New Zealanders. Jake "the Muss" is still the prime example of a Maori in New Zealand films. This might be because "Once Were Warriors" was so successful that pretty much everyone in New Zealand has seen the film. But twenty years after the release of the film, it is astonishing that it still is the one image people talk about when they speak of Maori stereotypes in New Zealand film.

The fourth question was to name two adjectives that describe Maori in New Zealand film. Just like the question before, the majority was drunk, illiterate and aggressive. It is safe to say that a lot of people described Jake “the Muss” here. But it also shows what a negative image Maori have overall. As shown in image 10 most of the adjectives

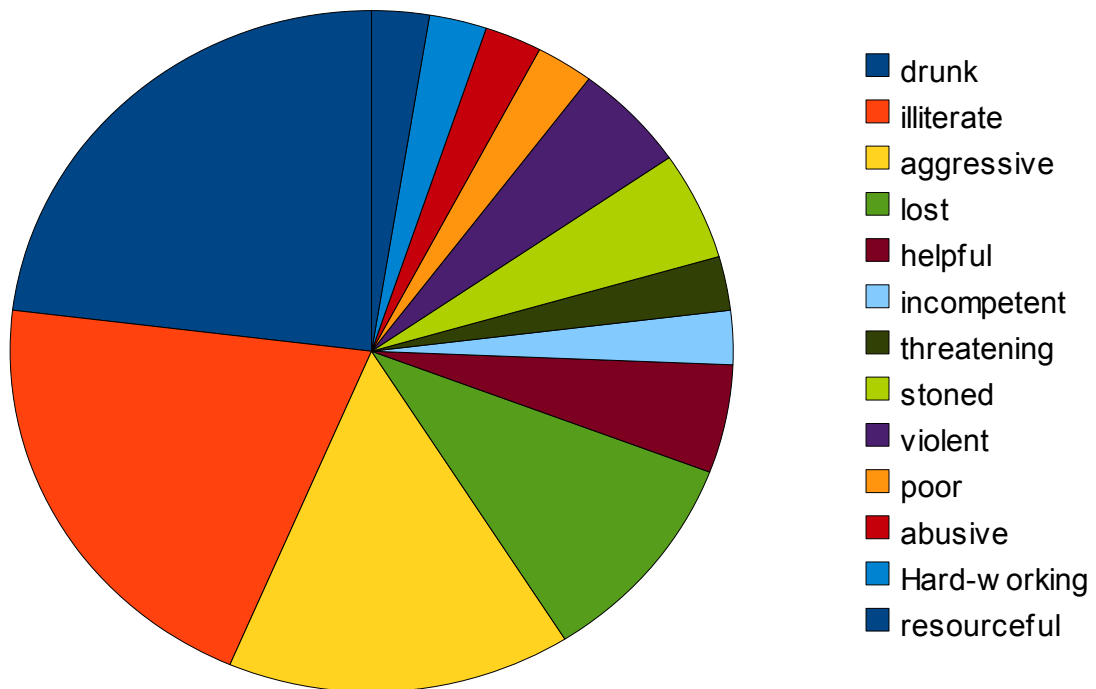


Image 10 – Diagram showing the results of conducted survey (Question 4)

named are quite negative. Only three adjectives were names that were not negative towards Maori. This outcome makes clear that all Maori images in New Zealand film history have created a strongly negative picture of Maori. Combined with knowledge of new home made films being rarely attended it is no wonder that early images of Maori have not only survived until today but also influence directors and audience alike.

The next two questions were about the participants' background and their contact with Maori and their culture. Out of the 21 people, 11 people gave themselves a 5 or higher stating that they have a frequent interaction with Maori culture. This shows that integration of Maori and Pakeha, which has been a problem for decades, has finally reached a point where both races live together and interact fluently. The second question was about the percentage of Maori friends the participants have. While the interaction with Maori culture is quite high only two people said that they have more than 50% Maori friends. All the others stated less than 30%. So even though both cultures live together, it seems as though both races still stay on their own.

The last two questions were about the treaty of Waitangi and how it has been honoured and racism towards Maori in today's society. Apart from three people everyone agreed that the treaty of Waitangi has not been honoured. So although the images shown and received are quite negative towards Maori, people realise that in reality Maori have been robbed and treated unfairly. The last question everyone, with one exception, said that racism towards Maori still exists in New Zealand today. These two questions show that despite being fed different images through films, New Zealand knows that racism still exists and that work has to be done until both races can finally live peacefully together.

Even though the survey is not as significant as it could have been with more participants it gives a good view on New Zealand's attitude towards New Zealand film and its images created. Although everyone agrees on the negative images Maori had in New Zealand film, most people are not influenced by it in real life. Looking at how small the audiences are for most New Zealand made films, it tells us that people don't even consume enough local film to be influenced by it. On the other hand this takes away the opportunity for New Zealand films, with different images, to be seen. So until more people go to watch home made films, the most known images will be the ones from older, more known films.

8 Conclusion

The images shown of Maori in New Zealand film are unique compared with other indigenous races as is their history. Maori lifestyle is totally different from western lifestyles most people are used to. The strong bond with nature and their land made them different to the settlers that arrived. Maori were living with the land and not just of the land. They were tangata whenua (people of the land). When the first settlers arrived their lives changed drastically. Following the next two centuries Maori were constantly robbed of their land during the land wars and after and made into second grade citizens. It is remarkable that Maori culture has survived and even has been experiencing a revival of its culture in recent years. Looking back at the history of Maori in New Zealand, you can say that after Maori has been treated similar to other indigenous people such as the Aborigines or the native Americans, but today their life is far better than of those indigenous groups. Their culture is taught at school from the very start and a new generation grows up now with cultural identity and connection to their land.

Looking back at the history of New Zealand feature film, it is astonishing how much the industry has grown in the last decades. At the beginning of the 20th century film came to New Zealand and mesmerized people. Until "Rewi's Last Stand" (1940) film-making in New Zealand was nothing special. Film-makers from all over the world came to New Zealand to shoot in front of breath-taking sceneries and to show the rest of the world one of the last unknown indigenous race. After this busy period came a thirty year long inactivity period. Foreign film-makers forgot about New Zealand. Maori were not as exciting anymore and the landscape was no criteria to base a whole shoot on. When film-making hit its revival in the 1970s it was just a matter of time until Maori were starting to make their own. Now New Zealand's film industry is bigger than ever, producing Hollywood blockbusters and home-made features. Now Maori have their own television and radio stations and have their own funding for movies. The future for Maori film-making looks brighter than ever.

With the beginning of Maori film-making came a change of the images that depicted Maori. In the first busy period of film-making, directors were mostly interested in bringing the mysterious Maori race back to audiences at home. Therefore men became fearless warriors and women became exotic beauties. People in Europe didn't want to see a race, struggling to survive but wanted to see an unknown race in their natural surroundings.

When Maori got more integrated in the middle of the century and the big move from rural areas to the cities started, film-makers started to change the images of Maori. Maori were now shown in modern society. Still not making their own films, Maori were shown as lower class workers with little or no education and with a strong affinity towards booze and fights.

By the time of the feature film making wave in the 70s Maori were still the main aspect of New Zealand films. Most of the films made up until then had Maori in them, most of them as protagonists. Compared to other indigenous people, Maori were shown a lot in films. Aborigines or native Americans were rarely seen in films.

When Maori started to make their own movies the images changed as well. Male images shifted from violent warriors and illiterate drunks to normal Maori husbands and fathers dealing with the struggle of modern society. Still aware of their heritage they try to make their way through every day work and family life. Women started to make their own decisions in films and got bigger roles as well. The characters main criteria was not looks anymore but changed to strong, independent women.

Even though images of Maori changed in New Zealand film history, old images are hard to erase from people minds especially if home-made films are less advertised and lack audiences. The survey showed that the common image of Maori is still close to the old images of Pakeha-directors. So if they want to replace the old ones with new images, it will take more time, more movies and bigger audiences to do so.

Looking at the support Maori started to get in the last two decades, I'm convinced that, time given, a new and more positive image of Maori will emerge. Maori will have normal roles, unrelated to their race, and wont show the character traits of the old images. Maori will be equal to Pakeha, on and off screen.

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Anlagen

Anlage 1: Conducted Survey

Name	Kenya Calder					
Gender	Hermaphrodite					
Age		21				
Which was the last NZ-made film you saw?	Boy					
Which was the last film you saw including a Maori character? (not actor)	Boy					
Name a stereotype/ image of a Maori you know from NZ films?	Violent and uneducated male (eg once were warriors)					
What two adjectives describe those images? (just make the words you choose bold)	threatening, incompetant	drunk	sober	helpful	handsome	literate
		aggressive	violent	lost	happy	stoned
		Hard-working	illiterate	scary		
		other:				
On a scale from 1 to 10, how frequently to you have contact with Maori culture? 10 being very frequently		8				
What percentage of your friends has a Maori background?		30				
In your opinion, was the Treaty of Waitangi being honoured the last 161 years?	no					
Do you think racism towards Maori still exists in New Zealand?	yes					

Name: Joshua Walden

Gender: Male

Age: 23

Which was the last NZ-made film you saw? Brain Dead

Which was the last film you saw including a Maori character?
(not actor) Boy

Name a stereotype/ image of a Maori you know from NZ films? Jake the Muss

What two adjectives describe those images?
(just make the words you choose bold)

drunk	sober	helpful	handsome	literate
aggressive	violent	lost	happy	stoned
Hard-working	illiterate	scary		
other:				

On a scale from 1 to 10, how frequently to you have contact with Maori culture?
10 being very frequently: 4

What percentage of your friends has a Maori background? 15%

In your opinion, was the Treaty of Waitangi being honoured the last 161 years? yes

Do you think racism towards Maori still exists in New Zealand? yes but not as much as there used to be

Name	Stacey Chan				
Gender	Female				
Age	23				
Which was the last NZ-made film you saw?	Boy				
Which was the last film you saw including a Maori character? (not actor)	Boy				
Name a stereotype/ image of a Maori you know from NZ films?	Criminal				
What two adjectives describe those images? (just make the words you choose bold)	drunk	sober	helpful	handsome	literate
	aggressive	violent	lost	happy	stoned
	Hard-working	illiterate	scary		
	other:				
On a scale from 1 to 10, how frequently to you have contact with Maori culture? 10 being very frequently	4				
What percentage of your friends has a Maori background?	20%				
In your opinion, was the Treaty of Waitangi being honoured the last 161 years? Yes and no, it was a hack to start with					
Do you think racism towards Maori still exists in New Zealand?	Not as much as it used to but negative stereotypes still exist... doesn't help that they make up nearly 50% of the prison population but most people don't consider the sociocultural factors that have led them to prison				

Name	Aaron Boyd				
Gender	Male				
Age		22			
Which was the last NZ-made film you saw?	Boy				
Which was the last film you saw including a Maori character? (not actor)					
Name a stereotype/ image of a Maori you know from NZ films?	Thiefs / cousin				
What two adjectives describe those images? (just make the words you choose bold)		drunk	sober	helpful	handsome
		aggressive	violent	lost	happy
		Hard-working	illiterate	scary	literate
		other:			stoned
On a scale from 1 to 10, how frequently to you have contact with Maori culture? 10 being very frequently		2			
What percentage of your friends has a Maori background?		1			
In your opinion, was the Treaty of Waitangi being honoured the last 161 years?	no				
Do you think racism towards Maori still exists in New Zealand?	yes				

Name	Jack Rose				
Gender	Male				
Age	21				
Which was the last NZ-made film you saw?	Bad taste				
Which was the last film you saw including a Maori character? (not actor)	Once were warriors				
Name a stereotype/ image of a Maori you know from NZ films?	The wifebeater				
What two adjectives describe those images? (just make the words you choose bold)	drunk	sober	helpful	handsome	literate
	aggressive	violent	lost	happy	stoned
	Hard-working	illiterate	scary		
	other:				
On a scale from 1 to 10, how frequently to you have contact with Maori culture? 10 being very frequently	2				
What percentage of your friends has a Maori background?	5				
In your opinion, was the Treaty of Waitangi being honoured the last 161 years?	no				
Do you think racism towards Maori still exists in New Zealand?	Yes				

Name	Hanh				
Gender	M				
Age	22				
Which was the last NZ-made film you saw?	Lord of the rings (boy - if you mean nz cultural movie)				
Which was the last film you saw including a Maori character? (not actor)	Boy				
Name a stereotype/ image of a Maori you know from NZ films?	gangster with patches				
What two adjectives describe those images? (just make the words you choose bold)		drunk	sober	helpful	handsome
		aggressive	violent	lost	happy
		Hard-working	illiterate	scary	stoned
		other:			
On a scale from 1 to 10, how frequently to you have contact with Maori culture? 10 being very frequently	3				
What percentage of your friends has a Maori background?	0%				
In your opinion, was the Treaty of Waitangi being honoured the last 161 years?	Over the top honoured				
Do you think racism towards Maori still exists in New Zealand?	Yea not bad though compared to jews in germany				

Name	Josh "hannles" Hanley					
Gender	Male					
Age		22				
Which was the last NZ-made film you saw?	Boy					
Which was the last film you saw including a Maori character? (not actor)	Boy					
Name a stereotype/ image of a Maori you know from NZ films?	Poor/Superpowers					
What two adjectives describe those images? (just make the words you choose bold)		drunk	sober	helpful	handsome	literate
		aggressive	violent	lost	happy	stoned
		Hard-working	illiterate	scary		
		other:				
On a scale from 1 to 10, how frequently to you have contact with Maori culture? 10 being very frequently		8				
What percentage of your friends has a Maori background?	Dunno 30% --> 50%					
In your opinion, was the Treaty of Waitangi being honoured the last 161 years?	No					
Do you think racism towards Maori still exists in New Zealand?	Yeah boi					

Name	Hana Zarazel								
Gender	Female								
Age		22							
Which was the last NZ-made film you saw?	Boy								
Which was the last film you saw including a Maori character? (not actor)	Boy								
Name a stereotype/ image of a Maori you know from NZ films?	unwealthy fob								
What two adjectives describe those images? (just make the words you choose bold)		drunk	sober	helpful	handsome	literate			
		aggressive	violent	lost	happy	stoned			
		Hard-working	illiterate	scary					
		other:							
On a scale from 1 to 10, how frequently to you have contact with Maori culture? 10 being very frequently		6							
What percentage of your friends has a Maori background?		50%							
In your opinion, was the Treaty of Waitangi being honoured the last 161 years?	sort of								
Do you think racism towards Maori still exists in New Zealand?	Yes								

Name

Jon Turner

Gender

Male

Age

23

Which was the last NZ-made film you saw?

"The Quiet Earth"

Which was the last film you saw including a Maori character?
(not actor)

"The Quiet Earth"

Name a stereotype/ image of a Maori you know from NZ films?
"Jake the Muss"What two adjectives describe those images?
(just make the words you choose bold)

drunk	sober	helpful	handsome	literate
aggressive	violent	lost	happy	stoned
Hard-working	illiterate	scary		
other:				

On a scale from 1 to 10, how frequently to you have contact with Maori culture?
10 being very frequently

6

What percentage of your friends has a Maori background?

unsure. Maybe 30 percent

In your opinion, was the Treaty of Waitangi being honoured the last 161 years?

Not really, but treaty settlements need to stop

Do you think racism towards Maori still exists in New Zealand?

Yes and reverse racism also

Name	Malaika Meder
Gender	Fembot
Age	22
Which was the last NZ-made film you saw?	Boy
Which was the last film you saw including a Maori character? (not actor)	Boy
Name a stereotype/ image of a Maori you know from NZ films?	Fresh as , Family Orientated, Cheeky humour
What two adjectives describe those images? (just make the words you choose bold)	These adjectives describe the way they are portayed idrunk sober helpful handsome literate aggressive violent lost happy stoned Hard-working illiterate scary other:
On a scale from 1 to 10, how frequently to you have contact with Maori culture? 10 being very frequently	7
What percentage of your friends has a Maori background?	A couple 3 or 4
In your opinion, was the Treaty of Waitangi being honoured the last 161 years?	Fuck no, Maoris got FARKED over by the Europeans.
Do you think racism towards Maori still exists in New Zealand?	
Yes definitely, not all Maori are stoned and illiterate, however they are often portrayed like this in the media, which reinforces negative stereotypes which in turn encourages racism. There are dicks in all races, they just give everyone else a bad name.	

Name Michael van der Salm

Gender Male

Age 23

Which was the last NZ-made film you saw? Billy T James - Te Movie

Which was the last film you saw including a Maori character?
(not actor) Boy

Name a stereotype/ image of a Maori you know from NZ films? Rugged

What two adjectives describe those images?
(just make the words you choose bold)

drunk	sober	helpful	handsome	literate
aggressive	violent	lost	happy	stoned
Hard-working	illiterate	scary		
other:	Resourceful			

On a scale from 1 to 10, how frequently to you have contact with Maori culture?
10 being very frequently 6

What percentage of your friends has a Maori background? 20%

In your opinion, was the Treaty of Waitangi being honoured the last 161 years? No

Do you think racism towards Maori still exists in New Zealand? No

Name	Natalia
Gender	Female
Age	
Which was the last NZ-made film you saw?	Boy
Which was the last film you saw including a Maori character? (not actor)	Boy
Name a stereotype/ image of a Maori you know from NZ films?	Jake the muss from once were warriors beating up his miss's
What two adjectives describe those images? (just make the words you choose bold)	<div><div>drunksoberhelpfulhandsomeliterate</div><div>aggressiveviolentlosthappystoned</div><div>Hard-workingilliterate scary</div><div>other:</div></div>
On a scale from 1 to 10, how frequently to you have contact with Maori culture? 10 being very frequently	2
What percentage of your friends has a Maori background?	5,00%
In your opinion, was the Treaty of Waitangi being honoured the last 161 years?	No
Do you think racism towards Maori still exists in New Zealand?	Yes racism exists between all cultures and the fact that we live so close to Maori culture it would be impossible to escape it. However in my opinion it is no more than any other culture.

Name;	Trisha Kendrick								
Gender	female								
Age		23							
Which was the last NZ-made film you saw?	Boy								
Which was the last film you saw including a Maori character?	Boy								
Name a stereotype/ image of a Maori you know from NZ films?	temuera morrison from once were warriors								
What two adjectives describe those images? (just make the words you choose bold)		drunk	sober	helpful	handsome	literate			
		aggressive	violent	lost	happy	stoned			
		Hard-working	illiterate	scary					
		other:							
On a scale from 1 to 10, how frequently to you have contact with Maori culture? 10 being very frequently		10							
What percentage of your friends has a Maori background?		15,00%							
In your opinion, was the Treaty of Waitangi being honoured the last 161 years?	No								
Do you think racism towards Maori still exists in New Zealand?	Yes								

Name	Ryan Nuualiitia					
Gender	Male					
Age		24				
Which was the last NZ-made film you saw?	Boy					
Which was the last film you saw including a Maori character? (not actor)						
Name a stereotype/ image of a Maori you know from NZ films?	rugged clothes					
What two adjectives describe those images? (just make the words you choose bold)		drunk	sober	helpful	handsome	literate
		aggressive	violent	lost	happy	stoned
		Hard-working	illiterate	scary		
		other:	abusive	hoarie		
On a scale from 1 to 10, how frequently to you have contact with Maori culture? 10 being very frequently		5				
What percentage of your friends has a Maori background?		15				
In your opinion, was the Treaty of Waitangi being honoured the last 161 years?	no					
Do you think racism towards Maori still exists in New Zealand?	yes					

Sandy Boyd

Female

46 years old

Which was the last NZ-made film you saw?
The lovely bones

Which was the last film you saw including a Maori character?
Boy

Name a stereotype/ image of a Maori you know from NZ films?
Poor, not very educated, talk rough

What two adjectives describe those images?
(just make the words you choose bold)
POOR UNEDUCATED

drunk	sober	helpful	handsome	literate
aggressive	violent	lost	happy	stoned
Hard-working	illiterate	scary		
other:				

On a scale from 1 to 10, how frequently to you have contact with Maori culture?
10 being very frequently

7

What percentage of your friends has a Maori background?

4

In your opinion, was the Treaty of Waitangi being honoured the last 161 years?
It has been honoured but not fully, the essence of the treaty has especially in the last three decades
. History shows us that the Treaty hasn't been honoured in the past but we have done such good things to help right those wrongs.
Do you think racism towards Maori still exists in New Zealand?
Oh yes very definitely, not nearly as much as in the past, but when the Maori people start respecting themselves, their culture, the land and environment which is New Zealand for all New Zealanders they will gain a lot of respect. They need to start giving a shit about New Zealand and their own people and families/ children and stop abusing them

Name

Sean Mackenzie

Gender

Male

Age

23

Which was the last NZ-made film you saw?

Operation 8

Which was the last film you saw including a Maori character?

(not actor)

Tracker

Name a stereotype/ image of a Maori you know from NZ films?

The drunk

What two adjectives describe those images?

(just make the words you choose bold)

drunk sober helpful handsome literate

aggressive **violent** lost happy stoned

Hard-working **illiterate** scary

other:

On a scale from 1 to 10, how frequently to you have contact with Maori culture?

10 being very frequently

4

What percentage of your friends has a Maori background?

Less than 20%

In your opinion, was the Treaty of Waitangi being honoured the last 161 years?

No

Do you think racism towards Maori still exists in New Zealand?

Yes, there is an abundance.

Name

Valerie Mills

Gender

F

Age

22

Which was the last NZ-made film you saw?

Boy

Which was the last film you saw including a Maori character?
(not actor)

Yes plenty!

Name a stereotype/ image of a Maori you know from NZ films?

Joker

What two adjectives describe those images?
(just make the words you choose bold)

drunk	sober	helpful	handsome	literate
aggressive	violent	lost	happy	stoned
Hard-working	illiterate	scary		
other:				

On a scale from 1 to 10, how frequently to you have contact with Maori culture?
10 being very frequently

2

What percentage of your friends has a Maori background?

10%

In your opinion, was the Treaty of Waitangi being honoured the last 161 years?

Beginning to be

Do you think racism towards Maori still exists in New Zealand?

Definitely

Name: Alex Watkins

Gender: Male

Age: 24

Which was the last NZ-made film you saw? Boy

Which was the last film you saw including a Maori character? Boy
(not actor)

Name a stereotype/ image of a Maori you know from NZ films? Jake The Muss

What two adjectives describe those images?
(just make the words you choose bold)

drunk	sober	helpful	handsome	literate
aggressive	violent	lost	happy	stoned
Hard-working	illiterate	scary		
other:				

On a scale from 1 to 10, how frequently to you have contact with Maori culture?
10 being very frequently

8

What percentage of your friends has a Maori background? 70 - 80%

In your opinion, was the Treaty of Waitangi being honoured the last 161 years?

No

Do you think racism towards Maori still exists in New Zealand?

Of course

Name	Kerry Moor					
Gender	Female					
Age		22				
Which was the last NZ-made film you saw?	Boy					
Which was the last film you saw including a Maori character? (not actor)	Boy					
Name a stereotype/ image of a Maori you know from NZ films?	Poor/impoveryished child					
What two adjectives describe those images? (just make the words you choose bold)		drunk	sober	helpful	handsome	literate
		aggressive	violent	lost	happy	stoned
		Hard-working	illiterate	scary		
		other:				
On a scale from 1 to 10, how frequently to you have contact with Maori culture? 10 being very frequently		8				
What percentage of your friends has a Maori background?		10%				
In your opinion, was the Treaty of Waitangi being honoured the last 161 years?	No it wasn't					
Do you think racism towards Maori still exists in New Zealand?	Yes					

Name	Glen Christie				
Gender	Male				
Age		28			
Which was the last NZ-made film you saw?	Boy				
Which was the last film you saw including a Maori character? (not actor)	Boy				
Name a stereotype/ image of a Maori you know from NZ films?	gangsta				
What two adjectives describe those images? (just make the words you choose bold)		drunk	sober	helpful	handsome
		aggressive	violent	lost	happy
		Hard-working	illiterate	scary	literate
		other:			stoned
On a scale from 1 to 10, how frequently to you have contact with Maori culture? 10 being very frequently		2			
What percentage of your friends has a Maori background?		5			
In your opinion, was the Treaty of Waitangi being honoured the last 161 years?	no				
Do you think racism towards Maori still exists in New Zealand?	yes				

Eigenständigkeitserklärung

Hiermit erkläre ich, dass ich die vorliegende Arbeit selbstständig und nur unter Verwendung der angegebenen Literatur und Hilfsmittel angefertigt habe. Stellen, die wörtlich oder sinngemäß aus Quellen entnommen wurden, sind als solche kenntlich gemacht. Diese Arbeit wurde in gleicher oder ähnlicher Form noch keiner anderen Prüfungsbehörde vorgelegt.

Ort, den TT. Monat JJJJ

Vorname Nachname